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A VINDICATION OF HOME RULE.

A REPLY TO THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, PRIME MINISTER OF ENGLAND.

IN THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for August, the Duke of Argyll has contributed an article in which he proposes to show that there is a close analogy or an absolute identity in principle between the gigantic effort of the American people in 1861-5, first to limit the area of negro slavery and then to abolish it altogether, and the present struggle in which he is engaged to rivet upon the people of Ireland a form of government to which they have never constitutionally assented, which they were only compelled to obey by an armed force, in their small island, of more than one hundred and thirty thousand men,* which the Duke himself knows that they dislike or abhor, and which they declare to be totally unsuitable for the supply of their practical wants in legislation. They support these allegations by returning five-sixths or four-fifths of their Parliamentary representatives to uphold them. We acknowledge their competency as citizens by allowing to them the widest household suffrage, with the protection of a most carefully constructed system of secret voting.

Even those who forced on Ireland the Act of Union loudly declared it was to give them an absolute equality of rights and laws with their fellow citizens in the other kingdoms; whereas every Englishman and every Scotchman knows that the conditions of Irish government, as above briefly and slightly set forth, would neither be attempted by any legislature nor tolerated by either of the peoples of Great Britain.

* "Grattan's Life and Times," V., 31.

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The task the Duke took in hand was to convert the American people to the opinion that to liberate a race is the same thing as, if not to enslave them, yet to deny them all the rights of communities, historically national and independent, over their own destinies. The execution of this task, not easy in itself, was grievously hampered by the indisputable fact that the sentiments passed by the Duke across the water were in the act of being constitutionally repudiated by his own countrymen, who, before his article could appear, were to choose a Parliament with a majority in direct opposition to his views.

A gentleman, belonging to the Republican party, and in the first rank of public distinction in America, told me before the last Presidential election that thirteen million votes would be cast at it, and that, of those thirteen millions, twelve and a half would be favorable to the cause of Ireland. Will the arguments of the Duke serve to diminish this enormous phalanx of opinion by the subtraction of a single man?

But the word arguments is a misnomer. Those who wish for arguments on this question must look elsewhere. It is best to separate altogether this paper from the personality of its eloquent and distinguished author, and, regarding it in the abstract as we regard a proposition of Euclid, to take our measure of it simply as an example of the highest heights and the longest lengths to which assertion can be pushed apart from citation, from reference, from authority, from that examination either of the facts or the literature of the case, to which the writer does not condescend. Of this he becomes sensibly aware towards the close of his paper and he informs his readers accordingly that he has written it *currente calamo*. A truly singular announcement. The *currens calamus* is an instrument well adapted for the journalist who in the small hours of the night has to render for the morning papers, in a few minutes, the pith or the froth, as the case may be, of the debate scarcely ended, or the telegram just arrived; but surely less appropriate for a statesman who dates his birth as a Cabinet Minister from forty years back, and who has now been spending many of those years in leisure, and it is a most equivocal compliment to the American nation, which has taken its stand on the side of Ireland through its legislatures, its governors, its very highest organs, as well as its countless masses, to suppose that it will execute its *volte-face* at a moment's

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warning in obedience to a *currens calamus*. And it is a *currens calamus* indeed; for the article affords no indication that its author has ever reined in the gallop of his pen for a moment to study any book or even any speech or pamphlet about Ireland. There is one wonderful exception: the Duke has been reading, and has cited, Montalembert's "Monks of the West," from which he learns that Ireland had its golden age "some 1,300 years ago";* that even then the Celtic Church had "incurable vices of constitution," and that there was no law in the country except the English law "in the smaller area of the Pale,"—which Pale and which English law had no existence in Ireland until more than six centuries afterwards. Such is the working of the *currens calamus* when the article accidentally stumbles into the domain of fact.

And the argument of the passage is no better than its history. The argument is that because 1,300 years ago the Celtic Church was divided, and fomented other divisions, therefore the Irish of to-day are incompetent to manage their own Irish affairs. But if the discord of 1,300 years back was so bad, what are we to say of that extraordinary union in the very same body which has now been maintained for so many centuries, that union which has been proof alike against the sword and the penal laws, and, as in the Balkan Peninsula, has given in the eyes of the people a special consecration to the church, as the nursing mother, not only of their religious life, but of all their civil hopes and aspirations?

It is time, however, to make frankly one admission. It is that the Duke's conclusion is fully warranted by his premises. If they stand, it stands. But what are these premises? Let us recite some of his assumptions. The Irish leaders all profess their desire to remain in unity with Great Britain; but they all do it falsely. † The people make the same profession; but they also are liars, except a few who are dupes. ‡ A parliament, elected by "the individual subjects or citizens" of Ireland, would make "legislative attacks" upon the "life, liberty and property" of those very persons who had elected it. § The principles of the leaders are fatal to all "industrial progress" and "the secure enjoyment of any property," ‖ with respect to which they are "pure anarchists." ¶ In many parts the priests will reign supreme over "ignorant, superstitious and dependent peasants," ** and "anarchical fanatics." These are some of the leading prem-

* p. 134. † p. 129. ‡ ibid. § p. 131. ‖ ibid. ¶ p. 132. ** ibid.

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ises of the article. They prove the conclusion, and more than the conclusion. They show, if they can be sustained, that the Irish people are savages; perhaps, rather, that they are a sort of compound between brute and demon; that there are not the common avenues to their minds, which we find in the case of mankind at large. It is as if in physics, sweet and sour, hot and cold, moist and dry, were confounded together. The common rudiments of human existence and actions are in their case inverted, perverted, and confounded. Other men enter into political society for the sake of securing life and property, and of promoting industry and the arts of life, but the Irish for the purpose of restraining or overturning them. We cannot frame a rational government for them, more than for Yahoos or Houyhnhnms. Either in the character of liars, or of knaves, or of dupes, they are outside the pale of ordinary human dealing. Might not the scuttling of the island, ironically proposed by Swift, be the best and simplest mode of handling the Irish question? Assertions and consequences of assertions, such as these, supply by their extravagance their own best confutation. But it may be well to bear in mind a few indisputable facts. We have had and we have a great body of Irish Nationalists in Parliament. Their ability is not denied. The testing efficacy of our Parliamentary proceedings is well known. Other men, and other parties, have charged on one another, in the late Parliament, breach of faith,* which is falsehood. No such charge has been proved, nay, none such has ever been advanced against these men, whom the article so grossly reviles. To the charges of heated and dangerous language they may in other days, and in some cases, have been open; but, since a prospect of reconciliation with Great Britain has been opened, no more has been heard even of this serious, but, under the circumstances, probably inevitable evil. Moreover, the Irish nation had, between 1782 and 1795, the management of its own affairs. What was the effect on life and property, on industry and progress? It was confessed in the debates on the Union by both sides alike, and notably by Lord Clare, that the period of independence had been a period of unexampled material progress. "Yes," it will be said, "but this was under a Protestant Parliament"; and truly said. But it is also

* It is needless, and would be offensive, to cite names. The fact will not be questioned.

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true that this Protestant Parliament admitted Roman Catholics to the franchise in 1793, and was ready to admit them to full equality in Parliament in 1795, when the deplorable recall of Lord Fitzwilliam arrested the National movement and gave hope and life to faction. Nor is it less true that the Protestants of the North then declared, with much more appearance of unanimity than has recently been seen in the opposite sense, that the recent changes had both removed all ground of differences with England and had "united the once distracted Irish people into one indissoluble mass." This was the declaration of forty-five corps of volunteers published at the time; * and the Duke of Argyll cannot escape from the force of such original and weighty testimony by describing it as "inflated fable."

The article warns America against my statements on Irish history as being untrustworthy. This is a quiet way of disposing of a series of utterances which fill a moderate volume, which are historical in form, which supply references to test their correctness, and which have recently been republished,† so as to give the utmost facility for confutation. With these facilities before him, the Duke does not refute, nor attempt to refute, even one of these statements. But, instead of a refutation, he says, "for example,"‡ that I have represented the bill of 1886 as only giving back to Ireland a limited share of what she had once enjoyed, whereas she "never has had a Parliament with one-tenth of the enormous power given by that scheme."§ All property and all liberty was left absolutely at the mercy of the Irish Parliament. "So monstrous a proposition had never been made before by any statesman."‖ And this (supposed) misdescription of my own bill is given by the writer as proving my "misrepresentations of Irish history," which it is plain he has never examined, any more than he has examined Irish history itself.

My description, however, of the bill was perfectly accurate. The Parliament of 1782 was in itself sovereign and independent, in the very same sense as the Parliament of Great Britain. The Parliament contemplated in 1886 was at once accepted, on behalf of Irish Nationalism, by Mr. Parnell, as "a subordinate Parliament." But, according to the Duke, the sovereign Parliament had not one-tenth part of the power of the subordinate Parlia-

* Declaration, pp. 2, 11, 1783. † "Special Aspects of the Irish Question." London: Murray. 1892. ‡ p. 132. § p. 133. ‖ p. 131.

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ment. Let us look a little closer into the matter. The Parliament of 1782 had power to act upon peace and war, upon army, navy, and defence in general, upon commerce, and every description of taxation, and this power was all of it exclusive power. But the bill of 1886 kept in imperial hands, *inter alia*, substantially and I believe in strict legal form, the whole of these great jurisdictions. Here is indeed an arithmetical puzzle: Parliament A has every legislative power possessed by Parliament B, and has, in addition, the very highest matters placed within its sphere, and yet, so says the writer of the article, Parliament A has not one-tenth part of the power of Parliament B. Such are the exploits of the *currens calamus*.

It is true, indeed, that neither of the schemes gave to Ireland by law what is called responsible government; while it is also true that such government was not contemplated in 1782, and was contemplated in 1886. And what is this but a bugbear set up by the writer of the article to frighten us out of our seven senses? In 1782, responsible government, that is to say an executive directly dependent on the majority of the popular chamber, did not yet formally exist, even in England. Mr. Pitt, in 1783, did not resign, nor did he at once dissolve, when condemned by the House of Commons, but abode his time, and the majority of the House was undisguisedly on the side of his opponents during the interval. Within my own personal recollection, there was no responsible government in the British Empire, except that at Westminster. But now, wherever a local autonomy has been granted, responsible government waits upon it, and in not one of these instances, perhaps approaching a score in number, has it been found to cause the smallest strain upon the bonds of union between the United Kingdom and the colonies. It is hardly possible to imagine the degree of perverse ingenuity which alone could lead any cabinet, or which has now led at least one statesman, to the conclusion that at this epoch, when responsible government, in conjunction with local autonomy, has (for us) become universal, and has been discovered to be harmless, the negation of it should be kept alive in the single case of Ireland, as if for no other purpose than to inflict dishonor on that country.

The article before me is as full of insults to Ireland as a plum-pudding is full of plums. Americans can hardly conceive how completely ingrained in the mental habits of many, who boast

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their support of the union, is the practice of insulting that country. The Duke of Argyll was a gallant adversary to negro slavery. And in too many ways the negro was dishonored and oppressed. But, the negro never, I believe, met with that particular species of oppression which is termed insult, in the same manner as the Irishman. One statesman, a prime minister, classes Irishmen with Hottentots; still we have another, who charitably divides them between knaves and dupes. By the completeness of his excommunication of that race from the human pale, the writer of this article and his *currens calamus* have carried the practice to such a height, that, as at least we may rest sure, in the future it can never be exceeded.

It appears to be thought that Irish Nationalists go a-roaring after power like lions after their prey. But Mr. Parnell himself proposed that the British Parliament should retain in its own hands exclusively for a certain time the power of legislating on the critical question of land; and all the Nationalists, in 1886, with readiness, concurred in a proposal which absolutely debarred the local Parliament of Ireland from constructing a church establishment. For these instances of moderation they never receive a word of credit. The writer of the article supposes that the bill of 1886 gave them exceptional powers of legislation in respect to life and property. It gave them no powers whatever, except such as are possessed in the colonies by every autonomous community. The writer thinks that the rights of the American States are those which the Federal constitution "gives"* to them, and seems unaware that the powers of the Federal constitution are exclusively powers given, or, in the language of the constitution itself, "delegated" † to it by the States, who acquired their respective sovereignties by the Declaration of Independence and the treaty that put an end to the war. He dwells on the fact that no limitation has been placed upon the Irish, analogous to the amendment introduced into the Federal Constitution after the war of secession. If the Duke has read those amendments, which may be doubted, he must be aware that among the fifteen articles of which they consist, there is not one which could gall the withers of the Irish Nationalism, least of all those which relate to slavery. Article XIII. prohibits slavery and involuntary servitude except for crime; and Article XV. provides that per-

* p 152. † Amendments to the Constitution, Art 10.

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sonal rights are not to be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Can even the ultraism of the Duke lead him to the point of believing that they have the smallest relevancy to the case of Ireland, or that inserting them in a bill for Home Rule would be anything more than a frivolous amusement?* "Our colonists," he says, "carry with them all the principles and doctrines of the common law of England."† Yes, they do‡, but subject to alteration; and in like manner Ireland will carry with her both the common and the statute law, not to mention such statute laws as the Act of 1887, which Great Britain, represented at Westminster in 1887, has fastened upon her feebler sister.

The anti-Irish imagination feasts itself upon the horrors which an Irish Parliament is to enact, and on the impotence of the Imperial legislature to prevent them. Let us consider the case presented to us. Thirty-five millions of Britons are to stand by with their arms folded while three millions of Irish Nationalists inflict on two other millions (such is the Unionist calculation) every kind of lawless wickedness—and this, while the thirty-five millions have the entire military force of the land and of the Empire in their hands, and while the two millions who, according to the same authorities, possess the main part of the property, the intelligence, and the industry of the country, patiently allow themselves to be led like lambs to the slaughter. How reason with prophets such as these, any more than with an infuriated crowd of other days who have seized an old woman for a witch and are carrying her to the place of burning?

The case of Ireland is analogous to that of the great self-governing colonies, which in all respects, except those of suffering and wrong, may fairly be compared with her. As to them all alike, these anticipations are preposterous in their absurdity, and cruel in their insolence. But, as it is absurd to suppose that either in the dominion of Canada, or in any other colony, or in Ireland, a reign of terror could be established, and justice trampled under foot, so it is equally absurd to suppose (and most of all in the case of a country separated from us by only a few score miles of sea) that the Imperial power would view such a state of things with indifference, and become a party to it by a shameful acquiescence.

* The Articles are quoted from Sterne s "Constitutional History of the United States," p." 303. †p. 131. ‡ "Anson on the Constitution," II. 257.

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The general upshot is that Ireland generously agrees to undergo every restraint which is imposed upon the autonomous colonies, and many other restraints. They retain legislation upon trade, they deal with the question of our own defence, they contribute nothing to our charges. Ireland willingly abandons all these powers and consents to bear her equal share of Imperial burdens; and, under these circumstances, such is the astounding force of prejudice, there are to be found men of rank, character, and ability, who denounce such a guarded gift of autonomy to Ireland as a thing monstrous and unheard of in its extent.

But the writer concludes his article with a series of statements intended to show that all the woes of Ireland are self-sought and self-inflicted. On this subject it is quite unnecessary for me to deal with him in detail. To stand side by side with his opinion, I present to the American reader the following remarkable exposition by Lord Salisbury:

"What is the reason that a people with so bountiful a soil, with such enormous resources, lag so far behind the English in the race? Some say that it is to be found in the character of the Celtic race. But I look to France, and see a Celtic race there, going forward in the path of prosperity with most rapid strides: I believe at the present moment more rapidly than England herself. Some say it is to be found in the Roman Catholic religion. But I look to Belgium, and I find there a people second to none in Europe, except the English, for industry, singularly prosperous, considering the small space of country that they occupy, having improved to the uttermost the natural resources of that country, but distinguished among all the peoples of Europe for the earnestness and intensity of their Roman Catholic belief. Therefore I cannot say that the cause of the Irish distress is to be found in the Roman Catholic religion. An honorable friend near me says that it arises from the Irish people listening to demagogues. I have as much dislike to demagogues as he has: but when I look to the Northern States of America I see there a people who listen to demagogues, but who undoubtedly have not been wanting in material prosperity. It cannot be demagogues, Romanism, or the Celtic race. What, then, is it? I am afraid *that the one thing which has been peculiar to Ireland has been the Government of England.*"*

There is, however, one other authority which I may quote against the Duke of Argyll, and which he may deem worth my quoting. It is the Duke of Argyll. A very few years ago he was more temperately and more equitably minded with respect to Ireland. In the end of 1885, he addressed a letter to the *Times* newspaper which it may be well to bring under the notice of the

* Hansard, Vol. 177, p. 719.

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American reader. The Duke argues, after referring to the arrangements with our colonies, that the inexorable conditions of physical geography demand in Ireland a kind and a measure of connection which is impossible farther off.

And where did the Duke find a solution for this difficulty? Not in the provisions established by the Act of Union as it now stands. He looked across the Atlantic, not as now to estrange the American people from the cause of Ireland, but to supply in principle a pattern upon which we might model the work which he then plainly contemplated as needful. His words are:

"The United States alone, of all the nations of the earth, must in this matter be our great exemplar." *

How then stands the case at this moment. The Duke labors to convert the people of the Union to the opinion he now holds, but away from the opinion he held only six years ago. I have cited his arguments and the passage in which he declares that for determining the relations between Ireland and Great Britain, the relation of the States to the Union is to supply our great exemplar. Does that passage give Ireland less than the plan of 1886? or does it not give more?

W. E. GLADSTONE.

Note: I do not wish to burden the text with matters merely personal to myself. But the Duke states—as usual, without quoting words: (1) That I have declared that all Irish grievances have been removed (p. 135); (2) that I never discovered "all this" till I was past 75; and (3) that I denounced Irish leaders for describing Irish history in the manner in which I now describe it. I call for proof of these three assertions, only adding (*a*) that the great efforts of Parliament to deal with the most notorious and crying grievances, such as the Church and the land laws, have afforded the most signal proofs that the sentiment of nationality lies deeper than these; (*b*) that in 1882, when I was Prime Minister, I imposed no limit upon home rule† except the limit which I now seek to impose, namely, that it is in no way to impair the central authority requisite to govern and to bind the empire.

* Duke of Argyll, December 26, 1885, in the *Times* of December, 29, p. 6, col. 1.

† Hansard, Feb. 9, 1882.

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THE EXCISE LAW AND THE SALOON.

BY THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE, BISHOP OF ALBANY.

A STATEMENT somewhat casually introduced in an article in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for July has, I am glad to see, attracted more attention than anything else in the article, as I hoped it would.

The statement was this, "I am inclined to think that the clergy would be wise to begin an effort to wipe out all excise legislation from the statute books, and keep, only in the Penal Code, enactments which would punish drunkenness and the makers of it, the violation of Sunday, and the grosser evils of the liquor trade." This seemed to many people a rash statement and a suggestion of what, to say the least of it, was very questionable both in principle and in application, and I am not prepared to say that it is not rash and questionable; but I desire to make the suggestion a little fuller and clearer for purposes of discussion, because I am abundantly satisfied in my own mind that the political condition of the State of New York has reached a point that demands some heroic remedy. Bad as is the debauching of the people by unlimited and unrestricted liquor, the worst and most dangerous of all debauching of the people is the destruction of the political moral sense; and since it is true that politics have become so important to the liquor interest that it is to the advantage of the liquor men to elect our law-makers, and true that the liquor interest is so important to the politicians that it is necessary for them to submit to the dictation of representatives of that interest in the making of laws, it seems to me that we have arrived at a crisis when we might as well select Scylla as Charybdis on which to be wrecked.

I readily recognize the patent objections to the plan. In the

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first place, it is of course true that the liquor dealers want legislation for other than mere excise questions; but their demand for any kind of legislation would be largely lessened if the legislators were not entirely subject to the liquor power. It is true also that the saloons are of value to candidates for office, because the saloon-keeper is supposed to control the votes of the people who frequent his saloon; but it is true also, over against this, that the saloon would cease to be the political centre, the place which controls the primary meetings often held in it, if the saloon ceased to depend for its existence upon legislative favor.

Then comes the great question of principle, whether the State has any right to allow an article which is capable of such infinite ruin and harm to be sold without any restriction at all. The *crux*, I confess, in my mind lies here. It has been considered always necessary to restrict in some degree the sale of dynamite and drugs, of poisons and gunpowder, and we should hardly be prepared to leave these open and free; and there can be no question in the mind of any reasonable human being that more damage comes from the sale of liquor than from the sale of all these others combined; but it is, sometimes at any rate, wise, when no great moral principle is at stake, to consider the question of expediency and policy, and to seek rather to obtain important results than to insist upon a particular method of securing them.

Believing as I do that the use of intoxicating drinks can not by any possibility be prevented; that it is a natural appetite; that it is not in itself sin, but only sinful in abuse; that horrible and hideous as the results of this abuse are, the only remedy lies in "the Gospel of the *grace of God*;" that even if all manufacture and sale of liquor were prohibited, it would be against the divine plan of dealing with our human nature, which must be disciplined by the presence, that it may be strengthened against the power, of temptation; I believe also that it is one of those many questions of political economy, which, if left alone, without artificial influence, would regulate itself by the well-known law of supply and demand.

There certainly are more saloons in our large towns than are needed to satisfy the thirst of the people. The increased number of these saloons is due to their political value, and if that were taken away I think the number of saloons would be at once diminished. If we could ever have secured the

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application of the principle of high license, or a regulation of the number of saloons according to the number of the population in a certain district, we would have reached, I believe, the best cure for this great evil; but an experience of twenty years in the capital of this State convinces me that that is impossible. That the Democratic party is more responsible for this condition of things than the Republican, is merely due to the fact that the Democratic party has been longer in power during these years than the Republican; but as parties, both of them, whenever it suited their purposes, have been subservient to this liquor control; so that the practical conclusion seems to me to be what was stated in the article to which I have referred, that "liquor ought to be removed from politics and politics from liquor, by ceasing to legislate on the question at all."

There are other questions connected with the desperate hurt of the abuse of stimulants which, of course, can not be left without some correction and control. The Penal Code of the State of New York, either as it exists or as it can be amended, furnishes, I think, the place where these corrections and this control can be applied.

The Sunday law, for instance, as it has always pertained in the statute books of this State, forbids the opening of shops and stores on Sunday, and would include, of course, among these shops and stores the places in which liquor is sold. It is only necessary to insist upon the closing of all places of business on the Lord's Day (with the present exceptions allowed), and to enforce the present law against their opening, in order to secure this important result. See Penal Code, Chap. I., Title X., Section 267.

Section 266, Chap. I., Title I. of the Penal Code, which forbids trades, manufactures, etc., on the first day of the week, has in it a statement to which I think some consideration ought to be given, even though it be somewhat aside and apart from the subject of this article. It refers to "the repose" and "religious liberty" of the community.

I have so often, in discussion before committees of the legislature, heard the representative of the liquor interests,—generally a portly and well-preserved German, bearing evidence both in his speech and in his look of a cordial appreciation of his national beverage,—insist that all legal observance of the Lord's Day was

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a violation of liberty, that it seems worth while, just for a moment, to suggest that, in the first place this is *not* primarily and in its essence a religious question at all, because the observance of one day in the week as a day of rest is primeval, and antedates all revelation of religious law; and because, in the next place, there is no attempt to enforce any religious observance upon those who do not desire it for themselves; but only a protection for those who do desire freedom of religious worship, not to be disturbed and distracted in it by the intrusion into the quietness of an Anglo-Saxon Sunday of either the occupations, the amusements, or the offences of the ordinary days of the week.

The laws in the Penal Code regulating the care and control of minors and of people of weak or unsound mind would cover the crime of the sale of liquor to such as these; and drunkenness, whether boisterous or dangerous to life, ought to be punished by the general law of penalties. If, in addition to these, men who have or sell any adulterated liquor were prosecuted as severely as if they have or sell any adulterated drug (see Penal Code, Title XII., Sec. 407), we should go very far towards reaching what is perhaps the most serious cause of intemperance, namely, the quality far more than the quantity of the stuff that is drunk; and it seems to me that in the laws regulating the holding of elections there might easily be a clause inserted which would forbid the sale of liquor on election days within a fixed vicinity of the polling place.

I am not absolutely certain that if it were in my power to make this change I should feel safe in doing it, because I should want to be surer than I am of the legal sufficiency of my argument; but I am well satisfied that the suggestion is worth consideration and discussion by those who are better able to judge of the applicability of law than I am. There is one advantage at least, that if such a condition of things as this were brought about we should have, working together upon one plane for a better condition of things, the temperance people and the total abstinence people; for it is a well-known fact, that a consistent prohibitionist cannot consent to even an effort to improve the Excise law, because by so doing he recognizes what to him is impossible, the right of the State to recognize liquor-selling as a legitimate occupation.

It ought not to be omitted from the consideration of this sub-

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ject that as the law at present stands there is such an interdependence between police administration and political influence that the power of the liquor dealer is felt, not only in the making but in the execution of the Excise law. And it would be well to remove the police from the politicians, and both from the power of the liquor interest.

There are two matters of such grave consequence that some mention of them ought to be made in this discussion. In the first place, it is true that the fees derived from the sale of licenses are appropriated by law to important objects, under the direction of the Supervisor; "applied," as the law says, "to the payment of the ordinary expenditures payable from the general fund of the city or town respectively, unless otherwise provided by a special or local law." The answer, I think, to this is perfectly plain. In the first place it is both the duty and within the power of every community to provide for its ordinary expenditures without resort to this method of securing funds, and, in the next place, the same statement really applies to this point that has been already made in regard to the use of fees from the Louisiana lottery. *If* under the present system the saloon power is increased, no amount of money derived from it, for any purpose, no matter how good, can be the excuse for its maintenance.

The only remaining difficulty *that I can see* is that it may be said that to do away with an excise law would remove what is called the civil damage act; of which I have simply this to say, that both in the act in relation to Excise, which is chapter 403 of the Laws of New York, passed in 1892, and in section 40 of the present Excise law, all value is absolutely taken away from what I nevertheless believe to be an important provision. The only recovery that can be "had in any civil action of the damages suffered by reason of the intoxication of any person," etc., is in case a written notice forbidding such sale has been given to the person selling the intoxicating drink.

It must have been patent even to the framers of the law that this absolutely emptied the act of all value, because in any town or city, especially in the largest cities, it is utterly impossible for notice to be given by anybody to *every* saloon keeper, and equally impossible to confine drunkards to any *single* saloon.

I believe, therefore, that the remedy for this is to add to the Penal Code a statute which shall make the sale of intoxicating

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drink to an habitual drunkard or to a drunken man a crime, punishable by the closing of the saloon for a definite period, in case a judgment is recovered by any person who chooses to prosecute the saloon keeper for a penalty, which should be imposed in addition to the closing of the saloon.

If I seem to write without the courage of my own convictions, it is merely that I realize that a layman who is neither lawyer nor legislator may fail to see very real difficulties. But I am convinced, *so far as I can see*, that we should be better off than we are now, with *no* Excise law; and my only doubt about making the change is, that I would rather wait until wiser men have probed the question more thoroughly.

I ought, I think, to say that my object in asking the insertion of this article in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW is simply to bring the matter before the people for discussion; and that I only write under a very deep sense of the desperate evil of the moral, physical, political, and personal degradation of the existing condition of things.

WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE.

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THE REAL ISSUE.

BY SENATOR G. G. VEST, OF MISSOURI.

THE same issue that disrupted the cabinet of Washington in 1793, and caused Jefferson to surrender his portfolio as Secretary of State, aligns the two great parties in the pending canvass.

When Alexander Hamilton declared in his Report on Manufactures that under the clause of the constitution which gave Congress power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare," it was intended to authorize such import duties, without limitation, as Congress deemed necessary for the protection and encouragement of American manufactures, Jefferson respectfully informed the President that it was impossible for him to remain in the cabinet. He denounced the position of Hamilton as establishing Congressional absolutism; and when Washington afterwards attempted to reconcile the two ministers, Jefferson said that "as to a coalition with Mr. Hamilton, if by that was meant that either was to sacrifice his general system to the other, it was impossible."

Through all the mutations of American politics, though often obscured and interrupted by sectional and financial questions, this great controversy has marked the dividing line between the Democratic party and its adversaries. It is not simply a question of constitutional construction or of taxation, but one involving the essential and vital principle upon which free government must rest. If this be a government of limited and defined functions in every department, and in which each citizen has equal rights with every other citizen; if the government is the property of all, the agent and servant of all under a written con-

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stitution, then it is monstrous to assert that unlimited discretion should be vested anywhere to take the property of one citizen for the purpose of enriching another.

It is fondly believed that our fathers intended to build a governmental fabric every stone and timber in which should be an eternal protest against the doctrine of absolutism as to rights, both of property and opinion. But how can this be possible if Congress, under the guise of providing for the general welfare, can levy such import taxes as confiscate the proceeds of one citizen's life and labor to promote the interests of others ?

The issue is plain and unmistakable.

Under Hamilton's system Congress can establish a partnership between favored classes and the government, by which the functions and powers of the latter are subordinated to the building up of private fortunes, under the pretence of providing for the general welfare.

Under Jefferson's system no power exists in Congress or any department to make any citizen pay more than his just share of the taxes necessary to carry on the government, and it is a prostitution of the taxing power to build up or protect any industry by increasing for such purpose the taxes levied upon other citizens.

It is a significant and reassuring fact that the tacticians and party managers have been unable to swerve the great body of the Democratic party from this issue, or from the candidate who, as President of the United States, staked his political fortunes upon it.

It is doubtless true that many voters will be influenced by the question of free coinage, but it must be clear to all those who oppose the present tariff that no permanent relief can come from an increase of the circulating medium alone, without tariff reform. Money, no matter how abundant, will go, from the same causes, where the largest portion goes now,—to the protected classes. To claim that an increase in the volume of currency will remedy unequal and unjust taxation, is to argue that adding more water to the floods of the Mississippi will close the crevasse in a levee on its banks.

The existing tariff is an obstruction to healthy and legitimate commerce. It narrows and restricts the markets for American products, and especially those of agriculture. It is based upon the idea that the American farmer must look to the home market

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alone, and if that does not give remunerative prices for his surplus, the loss must be borne patiently and patriotically for the general welfare.

Senator Morrill, the father of protection, thus stated it:

"The lesson to be drawn from all this is that the markets we do not find abroad we must make at home, and they can only be made by protection. Whatever products can be made by machinery we may some time find a market for abroad, but cattle and wool, wheat and corn, are not made by machinery, and we must create a greater market for such products by a greater home diversity of industrial employments, and with our abounding mineral resources the task would not appear difficult."

Recognizing the fact that the farmers are becoming restive under a system which sacrificed their interests to build up manufactures, Mr. Blaine in his celebrated letter to Senator Frye sounded a note of warning to his Republican friends, and frankly said: "The charge against the protective policy which has injured it most is, that the benefits go wholly to the manufacturers and capitalists and not at all to the farmer."

As England alone furnishes the great market for our agricultural surplus, the exports of cattle, wheat, corn and wheat flour for the year 1891 from the United States to Great Britain being in value $119,223,170, the avenue to relief for the farmer would seem to be in that direction.

The dominating interest, however, in the protection party being that of manufactures, it was, of course, inadmissible to conciliate a manufacturing rival, and Mr. Blaine therefore attempted to cajole the American farmer by reciprocal arrangements with the agricultural and pastoral countries of South America. His original scheme included Canada, as "of the American hemisphere," but the storm of indignation from New England against apprehended Canadian competition forced the late Secretary of State to abandon Canada and confine his negotiations to "the countries south of us." Reciprocity now seeks newer and more enlarged markets for our farming exports in South America and the West Indies, which took from us in 1891 cattle, wheat, corn and wheat flour, amounting to $8,068,468. In other words, political conditions and exigencies force the Republican party, as friends of the farmer, into the absurdity of making commercial war upon the country which purchases almost our entire surplus of agricultural products, while at the same time it pretends to create a market for the American farmer in the countries

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of South America, whose people are our rival agriculturists. The tariff protection to the manufacturer is increased, but the farmer must be contented with the promise that the farmers of South America will cease to grow wheat and cattle in order to become consumers of beef and flour from the United States.

The reciprocal arrangement with Brazil, the largest of the South American markets, has been in operation since April 1, 1891, but the President, in a message recently transmitted to the Senate, apologizes for the meagre results in these significant words: "It is proper to suggest that the practical effect of these arrangements can not be measured by the commerce of a month or a year, for the result must depend not alone upon the character of the concessions secured by diplomatic negotiations, but by the degree to which they are utilized by private commercial enterprise." This amounts simply to the admission that unless self-interest, the basis of all commerce, shall increase trade, treaties and reciprocal arrangements are of themselves ineffectual.

The inquiry is still pertinent why the decrease of import duties in favor of our citizens secured by the arrangement with Brazil has diminished instead of increasing the export of farming products from the United States to that country. The message of the President shows that in the twelve months ending March 31, 1892, there was a decrease of $1,212,827 in the exports of breadstuffs and provisions, comprising meat and dairy products, from the United States to Brazil, as compared with the preceding twelve months. During the same period the exports of all articles from this country to Brazil increased $1,052,573, but $1,011,508 of this increase came from the exportation of steam engines, which are now, and have been for years, upon the Brazilian free list. Mr. Blaine, late Secretary of State, in a communication to the President dated February 7, 1891, in which he names the articles placed on the Brazilian free list by the reciprocal arrangement, gives the rate of duty upon all stationary and portable engines under the tariff of Brazil as 15 to 48 per cent., but on page 104 of "Bulletin Number 8," issued by the Bureau of the American Republics, containing the import duties of Brazil, it will be seen that these articles are not subject to duty.

Under reciprocity there has been no appreciable increase of trade between the United States and Brazil except as to engines,

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which are duty free in Brazil, no matter by whom imported, and there has been a marked decrease of agricultural exports from this country. These facts demonstrate the utter impotence of diplomatic arrangements to overcome natural conditions and to change the inevitable laws arising therefrom of supply and demand.

It is attempted in the President's message to show an increased trade with Brazil by stating the large business during the last year of the Brazilian Steamship Company, which runs its vessels between New York and Rio de Janeiro. The allusion is most unfortunate for the party of protection and ship subsidies in view of testimony lately given by Mr. Ivins, the President of that company, before the Senate Commerce Committee, who stated that "by valuing our properties at every cent they are possibly worth, we still on the first day of last August had a deficit of about $900,000." The same witness testified that being prohibited by law from purchasing vessels abroad, and by reason of the increased expense in running their vessels his company having come to the verge of bankruptcy, he had laid up two of five American-built vessels and chartered ten foreign ships with which to do business hereafter. It would appear from this testimony that reciprocity with Brazil has not helped our people on either land or ocean.

The most important fact elicited from the reciprocity discussion is the concession by its advocates that the American manufacturer can successfully compete with the English manufacturer in the South American markets with a protective duty in his favor of from four to twelve and a half per cent., while at the same time in this country the McKinley act gives the same American manufacturer protective duties ranging from twenty-five to one hundred per cent., to enable him to take the market on the same goods from his English competitor.

The greatest advantage given under the reciprocal arrangement with Brazil to the American importer on manufactures of iron, cotton, leather, and rubber, amounts to a discrimination of twelve and one-half per cent. in his favor, yet the McKinley act gives protective duties on the same articles in the United States, amounting in some instances to one hundred per cent.

If reciprocity has successfully operated in Brazil and elsewhere with discriminating duties in favor of the American

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importer of from only four to twelve and one-half per cent. the same importer paying heavy freight from New York to Rio, a distance of 6,700 miles, is not the imposition of duties ranging from twenty-five to one hundred per cent. under the McKinley act a fraud and outrage? In other words, if our manufacturers can only compete at home with a protective duty of from twenty-five to one hundred per cent., how can they pay transportation charges on the same goods for nearly 7,000 miles, and, with a discriminating duty of from four to twelve and one-half per cent. in their favor, take the market from foreign competitors?

Step by step the opponents of the McKinley law are driving its defenders to their last entrenchments. The contest involves the first and ultimate principle of popular government, the administration of just laws for the equal protection of all citizens.

To doubt the final success of those who now assail the citadel of class legislation, governmental partnership, and monopolistic trusts, is to disparage the justice of God and the capacity of our people for self-government.

G. G. VEST.

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THE BUFFALO STRIKE.

BY THEODORE VOORHEES, GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT OF THE NEW YORK CENTRAL & HUDSON RIVER RAILROAD.

THE business of a railroad company requires the prompt movement of passengers, mails and freight. To accomplish this a highly complex organization is necessary. Each employee may have but an humble duty to perform, yet the absence of any one of them or any class of employees may block the wheels of the entire machine and disarrange or incommode the traffic. Consequently, the sudden stoppage of work on the part of any number of employees in a single department, although unimportant in itself, may produce serious results to the railroad.

To insure the prompt movement of freight, the work of making up and dispatching trains is divided into two parts—one body of men being engaged in making up the trains at terminal points, another in moving the trains from the terminals to destination. Under the generic term "switchmen" are included all those employees engaged in the operation of shifting and making up trains ready to be dispatched upon the road. This class includes yard-masters, with their assistants, yard conductors and brakemen, and also in some cases the men handling the switches, known as switchtenders.

In the summer of 1888, an agreement was entered into between the companies of the several railroads terminating at Buffalo and their employees in the switching service in that city, establishing their rate of pay. This was an advance upon the rates which had been previously paid in the State of New York, and was a compromise between those rates and the prices paid in Chicago, which were the highest paid in any part of the country.

From the nature of the service, the work in a freight yard of

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any magnitude is almost continuous. It cannot be stopped by night or by day, on Sundays or holidays, or at any time. One set of men must relieve the preceding set and keep the motive power in constant use. Perishable freight, such as live stock and other important freight, is being constantly received from connections, and must be handled without any delay whatever, and sent forward.

So well understood is this by all engaged in the work that at the time of the agreement made in 1888 no question was made in regard to the hours of employment. The shifts, so-called, were then, and have been ever since, recognized as of twelve hours each, and the service is constant for every day in the year. In making the agreement a time was recognized as essential for midday or midnight rest and meals, so that the actual hours of labor required on each shift were eleven. The midday or midnight hour was used for providing the engines with coal and water, the practical result being a net use of each locomotive in yard service for about twenty-one hours out of each twenty-four.

These hours being fixed, the schedule of wages agreed upon for the Buffalo men was as follows: Yard conductors, by day, $65; by night, $70. Yard brakemen, by day, $60; by night, $65, with the proviso that these wages were for the week days in each month, and that an additional allowance at the same rates should be paid for Sunday work.

This agreement in regard to extra pay for Sundays was peculiar to Buffalo and cities west thereof; at all other points in the State of New York the rule being to establish the monthly rate of wages at a sum which included all Sunday work.

During the strike of the Knights of Labor against the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad Company in August, 1890, the yard employees, or switchmen, at Buffalo on that road struck. They had made no grievance known to the company, nor did they make any demand at the time in reference to pay. Their strike was unauthorized by the then leader of the Switchmen's Union, Mr. Sweeny, and as a result their places were filled by non-union men without difficulty.

Prior to this a strike had occurred in the city of Cleveland, O., in the settlement of which the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad Company, and the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railway Company, known as the Nickel Plate, agreed to

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an advance to their switchmen to an amount practically midway between the prices paid in Buffalo and those paid in Chicago ; that is to say, they did not change the rate of pay named above, but agreed that working days should be recognized as of *ten* hours and that additional compensation should be allowed for the eleventh hour, which was equivalent to about a ten per cent. increase. The example of these railroads was followed by the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Company at Buffalo, which soon paid the same rates.

During the last session of the legislature a bill known as "The Ten-Hour law" was passed, and signed by the Governor on the 20th of May. By its provisions, ten hours' labor performed within twelve consecutive hours constitute a day's labor in the operation of all steam railroads, and additional compensation shall be paid to any employee who shall be employed or permitted to work in excess of ten hours.

Immediately on the signing of this law, the railroad companies throughout the State very generally notified all employees in yard service that their rate of pay thereafter would be a price per hour instead of the monthly rate previously paid ; the rate per hour being fixed by dividing the monthly rate by the number of hours that had been required in the past. This arrangement was acquiesced in by the great body of employees without question or dissent. The switchmen at Buffalo, however, made it the occasion of what was practically a demand for an increase in pay. The employees of all the roads, excepting the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern, the Nickel Plate, and the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western railroads, about the 11th of June presented petitions to their respective superintendents, demanding that the rate of pay per hour should be advanced, the amount they demanded being arrived at by dividing the monthly compensation paid prior to to the 20th day of May by ten, so that they would in effect receive an increase of ten per cent. in the net result.

These demands were declined by all the railroad companies, and but little more was heard of the matter until the initiation of the strike which began on Friday night, August 12, at midnight, when the men of the Buffalo Creek, Lehigh Valley, and New York, Lake Erie & Western railroads went out. A strong effort was made immediately to befog the public mind in reference to the hours of labor—the men claiming they were overworked

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and only wanted a ten-hour day. Grand Master Sweeny dilated at length in regard to this, and claimed that "the men are simply asking for what is right," etc.; but it was perfectly understood by all the railroad employees that there was no real question of the hours of labor that would have to be performed in any case, but that the strike was simply an effort on their part to bring about an increase in pay.

Undoubtedly it had been the expectation on the part of the labor leaders, generally, that the passage of the law by the legislature, referred to above, would bring about this result of itself, and the new arrangement of paying them by the hour proved a disappointment. On Saturday night, twenty-four hours after the initiation of the strike, a number of incendiary fires were started in the freight yards of the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company. Eighteen freight cars, loaded with cotton, wool, merchandise, etc., two passenger coaches and two watchmen's houses were burned; and about the same time, a train of ten coal cars was cut loose and ran into a coal trestle, doing considerable damage. Two passenger trains also were thrown from the track, and a train of loaded freight cars on the New York, Lake Erie & Western Railroad was set on fire and destroyed. All through the day on Sunday serious outbreaks occurred between the strikers and the men who were in the employ of the companies endeavoring to move the trains. A passenger train was thrown from the track on the Erie road in the heart of the city. Other incendiary fires were started during the evening.

On Sunday, August 14, the Sheriff of Erie County issued a notice calling for deputies, and up to eleven o'clock the following day he had secured *forty-five* men. These deputy sheriffs were furnished with blue badges and white batons, and were taken out by the sheriff to the scene of disorder on the line of the Erie road. They were met by a handful of strikers, who counselled them in loud voices to be "white men." Terrified, apparently, by the actual presence of strikers, they at once tendered the sheriff their clubs, and, in large numbers, deserted. A small handful remained and gathered in the shade of a freight car to discuss the situation, which remained quiet because no one dared oppose the strikers. The deputies got back to the city with all expedition. The deserters explained afterwards that the strikers came up and mixed in with them and took their clubs away!

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The sheriff thereupon said he would go into the town and make a requisition for the militia, "because it was time to do something besides getting a lot of friends of strikers to act as officers." On Monday, August 15, at the request of the sheriff, the Sixty-fifth and Forty-seventh regiments were ordered on duty.

On August 17, the men in the employ of the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad Company were all called out by the Switchmen's Union, and following that the men of the West Shore road also struck.

It was soon discovered that the force of militia at the disposal of the local authorities was inadequate to thoroughly protect and guard all points liable to obstruction on the part of the strikers. The amount of railroad property in Buffalo is very large. Of the 24,000 acres embraced in the city limits, 6,400 are railroad property. The total assessed valuation of the city amounts to $170,583,385; of this the railroads bear an assessment of $19,000,000. In four of the city wards the assessed valuation of railroad property amounts to $9,123,995. The extent of railroad tracks within the city limits, and immediately adjacent in the town of Cheektowaga, is between six and seven hundred miles. On the New York Central & Hudson River and West Shore railroads alone, there are nine miles in length of freight yards, each yard filled with sidings and valuable property.

While the total number of strikers at any one time was but small, not exceeding probably 600 men all told, it required a large force to thoroughly patrol and guard all the different points that were open to attack. The railroad tracks and yards are crossed by numerous public streets and highways, so that it became evident that a very large patrol was necessary before any extensive movement of freight could be attempted, even by a single company. The efforts to move freight that were made during the few days immediately succeeding the opening of the strike were attended with the greatest difficulty—trains being cut in two, employees being stoned, switches thrown, switchtenders driven away at night, etc., etc. The people of Buffalo were thoroughly aroused to the importance of the matter and as to the possible claims that might be brought against the city and county for damages resulting from rioting and lawlessness. The strike on Thursday had spread to all the roads in Buffalo; the switchmen on those roads that were already paying the prices demanded by the Switchmen's

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Union going on strike out of "sympathy," so-called, for their fellows.

It was with the greatest reluctance that the sheriff finally gave his consent to appeal to the State government for help; but early in the morning of August 18 a dispatch was sent to the Governor, signed by the sheriff and the Mayor of the city, asking for additional assistance from the National Guard of the State. The Governor acted with great decision and promptness, and before 3 A. M. a message was received stating that all the papers had been signed and a large force ordered out. This included in all about 5,000 additional troops. That evening a number of companies arrived from Albany, Troy, Schenectady and Amsterdam; and the Twelfth and Twenty-second regiments from New York, and the Thirteenth from Brooklyn, left their homes for Buffalo. Other companies and regiments started during the night, so that by Friday evening, the 19th, the entire force ordered out was in Buffalo, and stationed at various points in the different railroad yards.

Meanwhile, the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration, on the 18th, according to the law under which they hold office, made a formal effort to arbitrate the question at issue between the switchmen and the railroad companies. They held a public meeting, at which the switchmen were represented by Mr. Sweeny, and the switchmen's side of the question was fully brought out. The railroad companies declined to submit their case in any way to the State Board of Arbitration, the reasons given being, first, that those who had left the employ of the companies by reason of the strike were no longer employees, as their places had been filled; and, second, that there was no obstruction of any kind to the freight service of the railroad companies, excepting by lawless interference and the apprehension thereof, owing to the fact that the properly constituted authorities of the city and county had been unable to furnish protection to those who were in the different companies' service, or those who sought to continue in the performance of their duty. Therefore, there was no grievance or difference between the companies and their then employees. One of the members of the State Board thereupon said that nothing had been accomplished by the Board and that it was impossible to expect that anything would be.

With the advent of the large force of militia, it was evident to all that the strike, so called, was at an end. There was but one

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possible way in which it could be extended or the situation made more difficult. If the Switchmen's Union could succeed in getting employees in other departments of the railroad service to strike, out of sympathy, serious inconvenience could be brought to the railroad companies. Consequently, Mr. Sweeny, about the 20th, urged the different organizations of firemen, trainmen and conductors to join in the strike. Mr. Sargent, Grand Master of the Firemen's Association, came to Buffalo on Monday, the 22d, and was joined on Wednesday, the 24th, by Mr. Clark of the Conductors' Association, and Mr. Wilkinson of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. Every effort possible was made to induce Mr. Arthur, the Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, to come to Buffalo, but he declined. These leaders held a a conference with Mr. Sweeny, on Wednesday evening, the 24th, when he appealed to them for help and begged that their men might be called out on a sympathetic strike, but they agreed that it was impossible under the circumstances. Mr. Wilkinson, of the Trainmen, afterwards said that there could be no such thing as a sympathetic strike under their organization. Grand Masters Clark and Sargent left that night for their homes, and shortly before midnight Mr. Sweeny declared the strike off. The effort to get the other organizations to join was the last that could be made, and, that having failed, there was nothing left to do but declare the strike off, as otherwise there would not have been the slightest chance for the strikers to regain the positions they had abandoned.

There has been a good deal said in the public press of late in reference to the rights of labor; that man is a free agent; that he must be left at liberty to work or not to work as he pleases, and that if he is dissatisfied with his position or his employment, it is his duty to stand aside and allow his place to be filled by some one else, if it can be done. It is evident, however, from a review of the Buffalo strike that the sole and only dependence of the switchmen was in violence and intimidation. Their numbers were small; the service that they perform, while hazardous, yet is hardly to be called skilled labor, and it was evident that their places could all be filled within 48 hours. The only possibility they had of success in their strike was, in intimidating others, by actual violence, from taking their places, and in bringing about such loss and damage and disturbance in the operations of the

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railroads, that the managers thereof would prefer to acquiesce in the demands for increased pay, rather than submit to the loss and confusion resulting from the strike.

Had they done as their leaders claimed they did, and as a small portion of the press favorable to their cause counselled,—staid away from the yards and refrained from all acts of lawlessness and violence, there would not have been a necessity for the presence of a single soldier, and the operation of all the roads affected would have gone on without delay and inconvenience, other than the necessary breaking in of the new men. It was on violence and incendiarism that they depended, and it was that which turned against them public opinion and brought to the side of the railroad companies the whole power of the State machinery.

The plea for arbitration which was advocated by a portion of the press, and which is always heard at such a time, was equally chimerical. Arbitration with irresponsible bodies of men, men bound by no law to continue in their employment and with whom no contract would be of any value, will never be successful. In the case of those trades unions whose members are skilled, who have a large body of intelligent and picked men, such as the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, strikes are very rare, and arbitration can be safely resorted to, because their body is such that any agreement or contract entered into on behalf of the men by their own leaders can be depended upon to be carried out by the rank and file. Such organizations command respect, and difficulties with them are rare, and when they do occur are readily adjusted.

The occupation of a switchman is one requiring a certain manual dexterity and quickness. That can, however, be readily acquired. It hardly ranks with skilled labor. It is, perhaps, the most hazardous branch of railroad service, and on that account it has been well paid.

Efforts have been made by railroad companies and by legislatures for some years past, looking to an abatement of the dangers of this occupation. The old form of coupling between two freight cars by means of a link and two pins requires that the switchman shall go between the cars and guide the link into place by hand. This operation, performed by night or in bad weather, and with the one thousand and one varieties of height

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and dimension of the cars, results in frequent injury to the man. To obviate this, automatic couplers, that will permit the two cars to be joined together without the presence of the man in between, have been invented, and are very largely in use on railroads in this country. Strange as it may seem, the Switchmen's Union has steadily opposed the introduction of the most improved form of automatic coupler. The only explanation of this that is possible is that the organization, as such, has feared that if once the automatic couplers get into general use the dangers of the switchman's occupation would be so greatly reduced that any one could readily fill the place of a switchman, and that, as a consequence, the organization would cease to have any attraction for the great majority of employees, and would fall to pieces. The fact undoubtedly is that if the link and pin could be at once eliminated from the freight service, the operation of switching cars in a freight yard could be performed with the same safety and ease as is now experienced in making up and switching passenger cars in passenger yards. Accidents happening in this latter occupation are exceedingly rare, and any man of average intelligence, with but a few days' instruction, is competent to fill the position of passenger brakeman. When once the same can be said of freight service there will be an end to any such organization as the existing Switchmen's Union, of which Mr. Sweeny has been the Grand Master.

The lesson of the Buffalo strike further shows the hopelessness of any strike that, first, does not have the sympathy, support and countenance of the press; and, second, of any strike that depends in any measure whatever for success on possible violence or intimidation.

On the other hand, where a strike is the ultimate effort on the part of employees to obtain justice for fair demands from a corporation, and where their efforts are countenanced by the power of public opinion, such a one will almost inevitably prove successful. A few of the labor organizations that have to do with railroad service recognize this and do not permit or countenance any strike until every effort has been made to bring about an amicable settlement of the question at issue. Others, such as the Switchmen's Union, are organizations whose chief cause of being is to band together employees in a specific branch of the service, with a view to increasing their pay by pressure brought

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to bear upon the corporation they serve. So far but little has been attempted in this country on the part of the corporations to counteract this tendency on the part of the men.

There is a fascination in railroad service which irresistibly attracts a large number of young men. Once in its power but few leave the service. A man who has followed a railroad career for a number of years is practically unfitted for any other life.

Applications for service are constant and far beyond the number of vacancies to be filled. The result is that, excepting a small portion of the men employed whose services require the greatest skill, the pay of the average railroad employee is small. How natural it is then for them to want to band together and endeavor by combination and consolidation of interests to increase their pay, and render their positions more secure. In regard to the latter, it may be said that a man employed on the permanent staff of any of the great railroads is secure of his position during good behavior, perhaps more so than an employee in any other branch of industry.

The one great evil that affects the railroad service of this country to-day is that there is no provision made for superannuated or injured employees, and but little in the way of insurance for their families in case of death. The various organizations tempt the men by offering an insurance at death, or in the event of total disability, this insurance being dependent on the contributions of fellow members in each case, and not having back of it any capital sum or amount that offers permanent security. When employees are questioned as to the causes which lead them to join various organizations, their answer almost invariably is, "In order to secure some form of insurance." But this makes no provision for old age or superannuation. One or two attempts have been made to provide a fund for the insurance and the care of aged and disabled employees in this country, with more or less success.

The writer believes that some form of insurance or superannuation fund ought to be provided as part of the regular organization of all corporations. Most of the railways in Great Britain have superannuation, insurance, provident, and pension societies, which have been established by the companies, and which the employees are required to join in accordance with the regulations of the road.

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A few companies in this country have organized a voluntary relief association, by which any man in the employ of the company, by the payment of a small sum monthly, becomes entitled to a death benefit, or to a sick benefit in case of sickness or injury; and have also made an arrangement by which the company acts as a savings bank for the employee who desires to deposit any amounts, on which three per cent. interest is allowed by the corporation. This should be extended, in the writer's belief, so as to include some provision for superannuated employees. One of the most difficult questions to be settled is what to do with the old employees who have rendered faithful service and who have become practically unable by age and infirmity to fulfill their duties, and yet for whom no provision can be found in the ordinary operation of the road. If a man entering railroad service in his youth, by paying a small sum monthly, could look forward either to a positive insurance for the benefit of his family in case of death or total disability; or, second, to a weekly stipend in the case of sickness or injury that would incapacitate him for a time; and also, to a system of pension to which he could look forward after years of faithful service; and could feel that back of this he had, not a hazardous dependence on the voluntary contributions of his fellow employees, but the capital account of the railroad corporation which he served, his interest would be largely bound up with the company, and he would hesitate before entering upon any ill-matured scheme of a strike or demand that was not based upon such absolute right and justice as would insure success when all facts were properly ventilated and brought to the bar of public opinion.

THEODORE VOORHEES.

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SOME ADVENTURES OF A NECROMANCER.

BY CHEVALIER HERRMANN.

IT IS certain that every prestidigitator since the world first knew of necromancy has met with accidents, and, although I have been singularly lucky in this direction, I was fooled once and in a very peculiar way.

I paid a visit to the Paris Bourse before the asphaltum pavement had been put down around the square upon which that great monetary institution stands. The square was then paved with a regular block pavement, which, owing to the great travel, was frequently out of repair. While inside the edifice I had seen the stockbrokers and heard them howl in their frenzy of speculation, and my mind had wandered off in altogether a different direction after I got out and stood on the broad granite stairs of the temple of Mammon with a few of the stockbrokers, friends of mine, who had gathered around me and asked me to "do something." A gang of workmen stood directly before us, and one of the stockbrokers said, "Why don't you play a trick on them?" I thought I would. I walked down the broad stairs among the pavers and extracted from under one of the cobble-stones a 100-franc gold coin, which is about the size of one of our double eagles. Instead of being amazed, the paver simply looked at me and said, "*moitié*," meaning half. There was a law, at least at that time, in France, that the finder should have half of anything found. I, naturally, did not want to give up half, and I thought it would be a good thing to find another coin, so as at least to show the fellow that it was a trick, and straightway I put my hand down again and brought out a five-franc piece. The paver looked at me again, his face wreathed in smiles this time, and once more he said, "half," which would be 52½ francs, rather a good day's earnings. Well, as I did not seem willing to give up

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half, as he wanted, he began to talk loud. I then changed my tactics, explaining to him that it was a trick ; and to illustrate it I picked up a five-centime coin of the reign of Louis Philippe (an old pocket-piece I happened to have with me), but even this failed to satisfy the workman, and his wild gesticulations and loud talk having collected more than 500 or 600 people around us, I thought it best to compromise with him. But no, he would listen to no compromise ; he hung to his rights tenaciously, and I was compelled to give him half, not alone of the 100-franc piece, but of the five-franc piece as well, and then he insisted upon having even half of the 10-sou piece.

It takes either a very stupid fool or an exceedingly clever man to get ahead of a prestidigitator, and of the two I am inclined to believe that the fool is by far the more dangerous.

In 1863, when this country was engaged in its great conflict, I happened to be in Constantinople, and the Sultan offered me the sum of five thousand dollars in good Turkish gold, which I finally made up my mind to accept.

Towards evening a gorgeously uniformed escort came to my hotel and I was driven to one of the great palaces overlooking the Golden Horn. It was April, and one of those lovely evenings that one sees in the Orient, as one looks across the beautiful waters that divide Europe from Asia.

I was brought into a room, and in a few seconds all my handsomely uniformed escorts vanished. The scene around me, however, was so beautiful that I scarcely noticed their absence, until two Turks, each six feet high, and dressed in the garb of the primitive Arabs, stood before me. One carried a chibouk beautifully scented with rose water, while the other had in his hand a little gold salver, upon which were bits of charcoal ignited, a gold coffee pot, and a tiny cup and saucer. The Turk carrying the pipe moved it slowly from side to side, and I saw that the bowl of it was filled with golden-colored tobacco. The whole room was perfumed by the smell of it, and such an aroma I knew could only come from the leaf grown on Mount Athos, the purest and most fragrant tobacco in the world.

All this, of course, was very beautiful to me, and I felt that I could really enjoy a whiff of the tobacco, but at the same time a lingering suspicion came into my head that there might be just a little bit of opium or some such drug in my pipe, and that instead

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of my doing a little sleight of hand for the Sultan, the Sultan was going to do a little sleight of hand with me. Sultans have been known to amuse themselves in that way. My mouth really, as I have said, watered for a puff of the golden weed, and the pipe looked tempting, with its amber tip and its bowl beautifully carved with Arabic designs. I made all kinds of gesticulations to the pipe bearer that I did not want to smoke. He pushed the pipe, however, upon me, being extremely polite all the while, but still acting with a persistency that showed me I had to do something. After I had taken one puff, which I thought was sufficient, the other Turk handed me from the golden salver, a very fine porcelain cup filled with ebony black Mocha coffee. The tobacco was delicious, the coffee very tempting, but for some reason my heart beat against my ribs, and the suspicion darted through my mind that I was about being drugged. Quick as thought I took the cup in one hand and the pipe in another, then presto! change! both vanished through the air and two small snakes appeared in my hand. The look of amazement and astonishment that settled on the faces of the two Arabs was indescribable. They looked up at the ceiling, magnificently painted by some celebrated French artist, they looked at the rug which was thick and of the finest of the Orient, then they looked at me with even more astonishment, then they salaamed before me as they would have done before their ruler, and both of them got out of the way about as quickly as I had made the pipe and the cup of coffee disappear.

While I was laughing inwardly at their speedy disappearance, one of the chamberlains entered and gave me to understand in French that I was to appear before his august sovereign. He led the way to a magnificent hall gloriously decorated with all the emblems of Orientalism, and I was shown to a raised platform covered with red carpets and hung around with damask draperies. The room was one of those open rooms that are so well known in Turkey, in which there are no doors, but great big circular arches on all sides hung over with silken curtains.

The first thing I did when I got on the platform was, naturally, to look for my audience, but only one person sat in the middle of the room, an elderly, portly gentleman with a nicely trimmed black beard and a red fez. I at once recognized his august Majesty, the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, and he in

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return, with a twinkle of his coal-black, brilliant eye, gave me a sign of recognition, which I supposed was a signal for me to proceed. From every arch and opening in the walls, however, came faint whisperings, which intuitively told me that while my audience in the front consisted of only one, there were a number concealed behind every bit of silk and every pillar. I afterwards found that I had appeared before over 500 persons, including the entire harem; and I may as well say I did not like it.

There is a magnetism that a large and enthusiastic audience fills me with. Everything goes smoother under such conditions, while to have a secret audience watch me, and only one man in the front, makes me ill at ease. I was a very young man, and it was my first appearance before so powerful a potentate.

I went through a number of experiments, which seemed to please the Sultan very much. He paid as much attention to me and was as anxious as a small boy, and I could see in the twinkle of his eye that he was trying to fathom the mystery of my black art. He failed, however, and before I left Stamboul I was commanded to appear before him on his pretty yacht, which usually takes him every pleasant evening from Constantinople to the opposite shore of Asia. On this magnificent pleasure vessel I also had an experience.

During the passage we became more familiar, and I was brought into close contact with the Sultan and noticed that he had a most magnificent watch, which he consulted and handled as if it were the apple of his eye. This, of course, was a good thing for me, for, as I was performing before him personally, it was not etiquette to take anything from the audience. I therefore asked him to take out his watch and show it to me, which he did. I then said, "Will your Imperial Majesty allow me to throw the watch overboard?" He laughed at first, but a second afterwards his brow darkened, and he looked just a little bit as if he were offended with me for making the request. "If," said I, "I do not return the watch to you exactly as you give it to me, you can put me in irons for the rest of my life if you want to." The peculiar angry look that for a second had passed over his face vanished, and while all of his attendants stared at me and expected the Sultan to have me arrested at once, he seemed to take it seriously, and I have no doubt that if I had not returned the watch I would have been

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put in irons. The Sultan, however, was a brave man, and after looking me straight in the eye with a piercing glance for a second, handed the watch to me, and I instantly threw it into the rippling waves of the Bosphorus. The yacht careened over, for every individual, from the cabin boy on the forecastle to the Sultan himself astern, rushed to the side and looked overboard after the watch. I felt that if anything went wrong with this trick I certainly should be put in irons; but I called for a fishing line, and instead of showing my anxiety at once proceeded to do a little fishing, while every one looked at me, not so much with astonishment as with pure disbelief in my ability to recover the watch, which was not only one of the things in the world the Sultan liked, but was worth a great deal more than any watch I myself had ever seen. My fishing, however, happened to be prosperous, for in a few minutes I drew up a little shiner and landed him safely on deck. I brought it before the Sultan, took out my pocket knife, ripped open the fish and presented the watch to His Majesty, in, of course, exactly the same condition as it was when he handed it to me. Turks, as a rule, are not very demonstrative, and I found in after life that to make a Turk laugh heartily is impossible. They smile, look pleased, and with their daintily pointed nails pick their beards, but on this occasion every Turk, from the Sultan and his blue-blooded pashas to the sailors in the forecastle, sent up one howl of delight that floated over the beautiful Golden Horn and re-echoed from the hills of Asia. You may guess how I did this, and I was very much pleased with myself, for the whole entertainment was a great success.

As I said before I was a very young man then, and my heart really beat with joy when I woke up the next morning and found that Constantinople spoke of nothing but "Herrmann, the Great." In every kiosk, on every street, and in every bazaar there was nothing talked of but the wizard and the watch, and I was just thinking that I owned not alone Turkey, but all of Asia Minor, when I was awakened rather abruptly to the reality of the situation. After having breakfasted, feeling very much satisfied with myself, I looked over the balcony and saw that I was the observed of all observers. The attendant informed me that his Imperial Majesty had deigned to send a message to me. I at once, in a grand and eloquent manner, instructed the slave to admit his

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Majesty's despatch-bearer. I stood in the middle of the room, expecting he would salaam to the greatest man on earth at about that time. Well, he entered and he salaamed, and put a bag loaded with five thousand piastres before my feet, and over his head he handed me an envelope on the outside of which were numerous hieroglyphics, which, of course, I did not understand. I tore open the envelope quickly, and imagined that some new honors had been showered upon me. To tell the truth I had an idea that I would be made a commander of the Medjidie. The message that met my eyes, in pure French, was, "You are advised to leave Constantinople instantly." That was all; nothing more and nothing less. I had before been in Mohammedan countries and knew to a nicety what it meant. I looked at the slave and dismissed him not quite as grandly as I received him, and looked out of the window where I saw an English steamer puffing the blackest kind of black smoke from its funnel. I knew it belonged to a line of English boats which passes south of Greece, and went either to Suez or Alexandria, it mattered not to me which. I made up my mind that I would catch that steamer if I had to leave my baggage behind, and I did. I had done too much, and, alas! had become dangerous.

I have a great many times visited Turkey since then, and have always received the most courteous treatment and attention, but Turkey was not then what Turkey is now.

In March, 1885, while in Madrid, I appeared at the Sasuella Theatre quite successfully, for the house was filled every evening with hidalgos and noble señoras, and King Alphonso XII. was kind enough to view my performance from a box. He was so pleased that I was asked to the palace, and knowing him to be a great sportsman, I presented him with a silver-mounted saddle which I had brought with me from Buenos Ayres. He was exceedingly kind, and after I had performed a mathematical trick with cards, which pleased him greatly, he kept asking me continually if he could not be of some service to me. At first I did not accept, but a little while afterwards I thought it would be a great thing if I could make the King of Spain my confederate in a trick. He consented, laughingly, and it was so arranged that from the stage I was to ask one of the audience to write a number, when the King was to get up and say, "I will write it,"

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and do it. Of course, with such a confederate, the trick was accomplished with the greatest effect, because my audience was exceedingly intelligent, and one that had seen some of the very best sleight of hand tricks, for at that time necromancy was studied for amusement in almost every noble family on the Spanish Peninsula.

This formed the first part of my entertainment before his Royal Highness, and I went back to the platform to my colored man, whom I had brought from America, and who became pretty well known all over the world as "William." Mrs. Herrmann had coached the darkey assiduously as to how to treat the King should he address him. He was told to bow in the most polite manner and say "Yes, Your Majesty," or "No, Your Majesty." In going behind the screen, the King followed me, but got there before me. William was leaning against some paraphernalia, and as the King was not in gala costume, the darkey naturally did not recognize him. In fact when the King addressed William, he answered him in the curtest manner, and the poor darkey almost fell dead when he found whom he had addressed. The King laughed very heartily, and whispered in my ear that this was a nice way to treat a confederate; and this led me to make up my mind to do a trick which would so astonish the King as to take it out of his mind that he had been a confederate of really great value. The first thing I did in beginning the second part of my performance was to take a blank piece of paper. This I handed to the King, asking him to sign it at the bottom. He did so readily, and the paper was passed from hand to hand and given to me. I conjured up all the spirits that have been or will be, and lo, and behold! the paper was closely written from the top to the place where His Majesty's signature was affixed. It was handed back to him, and, while he laughed very heartily, he said, "I will not deny my signature to this document, which appoints Alexander Herrmann prestidigitator to the King of Spain, and, as the spirits have done so, I heartily acquiesce."

The life of the prestidigitator is not, however, wholly devoted to sovereigns, and there are some incidents in his history that are rather unpleasant. One of these happened soon after I left Constantinople.

I had mapped out a tour of Northern Africa, and landed in Algeria. There were no railroads there then, and I had to travel,

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as I did in India and South America, on horseback. After appearing successfully in some of the towns near the coast I started boldly for the interior, and in a short time encountered a tribe of Arabs, who made me a prisoner, and, in spite of all my gesticulations and attempted explanations, tied me to a tree with the evident intention of putting me to death. It was a situation in which I hope never to be placed again, but I was young and full of spirit, and I thought the best thing for me would be to do something that would so favorably attract their attention as to cause them to postpone, even for a little while, their rifle practice.

Algeria being in the possession of France, some one of the tribe, I fancied, would know enough of French to understand me. I had for some time before been practising a trick which consisted in having a gun levelled and fired at me, and catching the ball; and by some great luck I had a few of the bullets with me.

I began to laugh, as loud as I could, in the manner my journalistic friends call Mephistophelian, and loudly proclaimed that my life was charmed, and that not one of the assembled Arabs' bullets could reach me. A few of the old greybeards went aside to talk the matter over, and as I was tied up there I could not help thinking that the Arab is one of the most intensely aristocratic races in the world. They stood before me in flowing white gowns, magnificent, haughty, athletic men, and as I watched them I felt that this race looked the same as in the days of Abraham. I had, however, but a few minutes to think, for four stalwart young fellows were told off to kill me. One fired and I laughed even louder than I had before and spat out the bullet on the ground. Then the others fired, and each bullet aimed at me fell from my lips as did the first. Then came the reaction that usually follows in cases like this with semi-savage races. They thought me a god. They gathered together all the things they had taken from me. They brought cool milk, and dates newly picked, and showed me all the courtesies for which the Arabs are so justly celebrated, and when the sun had sunk down over the sand mounds, they escorted me to another town closer to civilization, and made me a present of the handsomest Arabic gun now in my possession.

A. HERRMANN.

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BUSINESS IN PRESIDENTIAL YEARS.

BY CHAS. STEWART SMITH, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

IT IS the plain teaching of history that a long lease of power and a strong government are absolutely essential to the execution of great and far-reaching plans.

The historic monuments of the remote past like the Pyramids, the Colosseum, the temples, and public highways, which after the lapse of centuries still excite the wonder and admiration of mankind, were the work of great kings and governments that, in the exercise of absolute power, concentrated the whole force of their subjects upon the object to be obtained, often with slight regard to the value of human life or to the rights of individuals. The erection of the great cathedrals of the middle ages by the voluntary contributions of the masses, prompted by fanatical or superstitious religious emotions, is the only exception to this iron law of progress which had been the rule of the world's advance up to the time of the dissolution of the feudal régime.

The political economist who writes the history of material progress in the latter half of the nineteenth century must admit that this old power of kings to produce great public works has been transferred to companies, corporations, syndicates and trusts with enormous aggregations of capital. No one man is powerful enough to build a Pacific Railroad, and these latter-day associations are the legitimate successors of the ancient monarchs; they represent the spirit of this age, and without them progress would be retarded indefinitely. While these great corporations have acquired in the United States enormous wealth and influence, and while they have been at times, like their predecessors, indifferent to, and negligent of, the rights of the people, and have required the strong arm of the law to compel their observance of public obligations, still they have, upon the whole, deserved well

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of the country and contributed immensely to its increase in wealth and power. Wise legislation, such as the establishment of railroad commissions and the proper regulation of trusts, has guarded public interests.

Associated capital is, however, proverbially timid and conservative. It demands stability as a condition of freedom of action; it fears revolutionary legislation, which produces uncertainty in commercial and industrial circles. It prefers to adapt itself to bad laws even, rather than be subject to constant and radical changes.

No experienced man will deny that the recurrence of a Presidential election every four years is one of the prominent disturbing features in the business world; inasmuch as the great political parties who strive to rule the country must necessarily prepare for the contest twelve months in advance, we have in effect one year in four of this periodical interruption, with its consequent damage to business interests.

Nothing is more common than the remark of business men that "this is the year for election of the President, and we cannot expect the usual amount of business." We have a complete illustration of this unsettling effect in the position of the two great parties as defined in the platforms of the late conventions at Minneapolis and Chicago. The Republican party declares emphatically its purpose to maintain the existing policy of protection of American manufacturers and wage earners. The Democrats with equal emphasis stigmatize protection "as robbery and unconstitutional," and they promise a tariff for revenue only, if they come into power. The election of President will decide which policy will prevail, for the next Congress is likely to be in harmony with the newly-elected President. Both parties are confident of success. The majority either way will be small, with the possibility of a radical change in the tariff, and the consequent uncertainty as to the future. No prudent business man will engage in new enterprises of large moment—he will prefer to shorten sail and await the result of the election. The importer will be cautious if he conceives there is a prospect of lower duties upon his merchandise, and the manufacturer will not add to his machinery if he fears that free trade will ruin his business.

Happily both parties are now substantially agreed, if we can

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trust the party platforms, in favor of honest money, and upon the maintenance of the existing parity between gold and silver. The craze for the free coinage of silver, like the old greenback mania, has met with sudden death. I predict that the next Congress will be wise enough to stop the monthly purchase of four million ounces of silver, and thus save the government from the disgrace and disaster of a premium upon gold. This Presidential election will also decide the financial policy of the United States for a long term of years. The international silver conference may give the world some useful information, but it will not cause the re-monetization of silver in England or Germany.

The full duration of an English Parliament is limited to seven years, and the Republic of France has fixed its Presidential term at eight years. In my judgment it would be desirable to lengthen the term of office of the President of the United States to eight years and render the incumbent ineligible to reëlection. If we have a worthy President, the lengthened term would give the country the advantage which long experience gives to all professions, and would take away from him the temptation to manœuvre for reëlection. If a President should prove unacceptable to the country, we can confidently rely upon the representatives of the people in Congress to protect their interests.

The direct expenses of a Presidential election amount to many millions of dollars, and the indirect losses to the country in an exciting campaign by the retarding of business operations are incalculable. A shrewd political authority, accustomed to handle campaign funds, estimates that it will cost the two political parties one and a half million of dollars in New York State alone to conduct the coming campaign. The lengthening of the term to eight years would reduce such expenses and losses by one-half. It would be greatly to the advantage of our diplomatic service in the longer continuance in office of experienced men, and would also strengthen civil-service reform among all classes of employees, and save them from the temptations always incident, in a greater or lesser degree, to the frequent changes in the minor offices which follow in the wake of Presidential elections.

The professional politicians and the bosses would be likely to oppose such a change, and the hungry crowd who are waiting for federal appointments would raise the old cry of "An aristocracy of office holders," but the common sense of the

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country will yet demand the stability and tranquillity which would come from a lengthened term of office for the Chief Magistrate of the United States.

Notwithstanding the vast financial and commercial interests at stake, dependent upon the results of the November Presidential election, and the fact that the issues are sharply defined and easily understood, there has never been, within the experience of men now living, a Presidential election when the two parties have made so little preparation for, and have shown so little interest in, the contest. While this state of affairs has created less disturbance than usual to business, yet considering that a change in the President may involve an entire change in the economic policy of the country, the absence of interest in the election is phenomenal.

The threatened visitation of cholera, though at this writing an unknown quantity, must be reckoned among the disturbing forces of this Presidential year. Already it is certain that immigration will be stopped for some months to come, and that our commerce with the great shipping ports of Europe will be seriously disturbed.

The recent sharp advances in rates of discount in Wall Street indicate distrust of the future, and it is apparent that money will be required in unusual amount during the prevalence of cholera in Europe to carry raw materials at home which usually find prompt markets abroad.

CHARLES STEWART SMITH.

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THE FOREIGN POLICY OF ENGLAND.

BY HENRY LABOUCHERE.

HAPPY is the nation that has no foreign policy. America is fortunate in this respect; we are not. Our people know nothing, and care nothing about external politics, but our statesmen are ever desirous to play a great part on the world's stage, and we are blessed with a number of scribes who are perpetually telling us that it concerns our honor to meddle in European politics, and that it is our mission everlastingly to increase the area of our empire.

During the last century, we expended untold millions in endeavoring to maintain what we are pleased to call the European equilibrium. At one moment, we were fighting with Austria against Prussia; at another we were siding with Prussia against Austria. When we were unable to waste our resources by joining with Germans against Germans, we fell out with France or with Spain. At the close of the century the French Revolution occurred. The continental monarchs leagued themselves against France, and we joined them. Then came the wars of the first Napoleon. We declined to recognize him as Emperor of the French; we drove his fleets off the ocean; we seized his colonies; we fought him in Spain and in Portugal; and we gave large subsidies to every continental power that could be induced to go to war with him. Finally, when, after his first abdication, he returned from Elba, we vanquished him at Waterloo, and insisted upon the French accepting that wretched creature Louis XVIII. instead of the Corsican *parvenu* as their sovereign. The only benefits that we reaped from this long succession of follies were a huge national debt and the undisputed possession of some very worthless islands. The treaty of Vienna, to which we were parties, was an atrocious document. The continental sovereigns disputed with each other for accessions

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of territory without any consideration for the aspirations of the inhabitants of these territories. Spain fell under the dominion of the priests. Italy was handed over to the tender mercies of Austria. Poland was once more divided between Prussia, Austria, and Russia. Belgium and the Netherlands, hating each other, were united under one sovereign. Everywhere, reaction was triumphant, and the people were shackled. But our statesmen felt that they had materially aided in settling the European equilibrium on a firm basis, and rejoiced at their work. When, however, the monarchs of Austria, Russia, and Prussia grafted on the treaty of Vienna a "Holy Alliance," by which they mutually bound themselves to put down revolution wherever it raised its head, our statesmen, although expressing cordial sympathy, declined to join this new alliance, for by this time the English people had begun to doubt whether they had any great reason to be proud of the outcome of the long war against France.

When Charles X. was expelled from France the Belgians separated themselves from Holland; otherwise the partition of Europe remained as established by the treaty of Vienna until the first Italian war of Napoleon III. But our relations with Continental Europe had changed during this period. During most of this time Lord Palmerston was our foreign minister. The cry of peace, economy and reform had been raised, and Lord Palmerston was aware that any minister who dragged us into a war for a matter that did not concern us would lose the support of the nation. In home politics he was a Conservative; in foreign politics he was a Radical. He made himself the ally of all continental Liberals, and professed himself the friend of all "rightly struggling" to be free. But his friendship took the form of dispatch writing, and he was wise enough not to allow it to involve us in war. In words he was a prodigious swaggerer, and this flattered our national pride. I can remember the patriotic glow that we felt when he insisted upon Greece granting a vast indemnity to a man called Pacifico, who claimed to be an Englishman, and whose crockery had been broken, and what Roman pride expanded our breasts when he announced on this occasion that an Englishman, in whatever country he might find himself, had only to say "*Civis Romanus sum*," in order to be safe from injustice and to get a fortune if his pots and pans suffered harm.

A personal feud existed between Lord Palmerston and the

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Austrian statesmen, and he regarded the Prussian statesmen as siding with our court in its anxiety to subordinate England to the exigencies of the vague Germanism of the Prince Consort. This threw him on the side of France and of Russia. He held, however, to our old policy of bolstering up the Turkish Empire, and eventually we were landed in the Crimean war—a war, senseless in its aims, which cost us much blood and treasure. In the meantime, the party of non-interference in continental politics had increased in strength, and it finally dominated the Liberal policy. Our armaments were reduced, and we left the continental powers to settle their disputes without meddling in their quarrels. But the demon of interference only slept. It was still the doctrine of the Tories, and Lord Beaconsfield became its exponent. When Russia advanced into Bulgaria to free the Bulgarians from the intolerable oppression of the Turks, he sided with Turkey, and he only did not force us into war with Russia, in order to rivet the Turkish yoke on the subject nationalities inhabiting her territory, because the energetic protests of Mr. Gladstone brought home to the country the wickedness and folly of such a course of action.

Mr. Gladstone is not, however, himself, an absolute supporter of non-interference. He holds that we ought to act with the great continental powers in order to secure what he terms the "European concert." I have never quite understood how far he pushes this doctrine of a European concert. Of course, if all countries come to a united opinion united action follows. But if there be a disagreement, and some take one side and some another, with the result of an appeal to the arbitrament of force, we should undoubtedly find ourselves in a somewhat false position, if we declined to stand by those with whom we might be in agreement.

Lord Beaconsfield's defeat at the polls in 1880 was mainly due to a reaction against his aggressive foreign policy. He had involved us in a war with the Afghans in Asia, and in South Africa with the Zulus. In both he had failed, and these checks, coupled with the growing feeling that these wars might have been avoided, destroyed his popularity. When he was succeeded by Mr. Gladstone it was fully understood that we were to revert to peaceful ways, and that the British Empire was so large that any further extension would be a cause of weakness rather than of strength. But Lord Beaconsfield had already commenced meddling in Egypt. A number of financial houses had advanced

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money to the ruler of Egypt at usurious interest. These advances had been converted into public loans, some of the bonds of which the financial houses held themselves, and some of which they had foisted off on the public. Owing to misgovernment in Egypt, and to reckless financing, the bonds had greatly fallen in value and the loanmongers had sufficient influence with Lord Beaconsfield to induce him to send out a financier to Egypt in a quasi-official position to endeavor to set matters right. First, a Mr. Cave was sent, then Mr. Goschen, late Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a gentleman, who, as a partner in the firm of Goschen & Frühling, had been actively concerned in Egyptian loanmongering. Mr. Goschen placed the Khedive under tutelage, deprived him of all power, and made an arrangement by which almost the entirety of the taxes was paid directly into a treasury under European control to serve as interest on the bonded debt, with the result that the Khedive Ismail was dethroned because he declined to carry out the arrangement, and his son was raised to the throne.

When Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister in 1880, the Khedive was a mere puppet in our hands, huge salaries were paid to English and French controllers, the entire future of the country was subordinated to paying interest on a debt, the far greater portion of which had gone into the pockets of needy and greedy financiers. The situation was so monstrous that the uprising under Arabi Pasha followed. Our fleet and the French fleet were sent to Alexandria. The English admiral threatened to open fire on the forts defending that town if they were not dismantled, but the French admiral declined to take part in these high-handed proceedings. As the Egyptians refused to dismantle, fire was at once opened from our ships and Alexandria was bombarded. Mr. John Bright at once withdrew from the cabinet, and probably Mr. Gladstone was himself as surprised at what had occurred as was Mr. Bright. But unfortunately Mr. Gladstone accepted the accomplished fact, and as one crime inevitably leads to another, it was determined to crush Arabi and to occupy the country.

In order to allay the jealousies of the continental powers, we asked them to give us a mandate, and this was given, on the distinct and absolute assurance that our occupation would only be temporary. Armed with this mandate, our troops poured into

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Egypt. The Egyptian troops were, of course, easily vanquished, and the entire country fell into our hands. Arabi and his principal supporters were packed off to Ceylon, and the British Resident became virtually ruler of Egypt, with British troops to enforce his will. Thus we drifted into our occupation of Egypt: the initial step was taken with no profound political aim, but solely to enable a gang of financiers to secure their booty. We are still there in defiance of solemn pledges publicly given to Europe, to a certain extent for the sake of the financial gang, the members of which are alive, pushing, and influential, and to a certain extent, in order to retain our hold upon the Suez Canal; and we hypocritically justify this violation of good faith on the ground that we are gradually teaching the Egyptians to govern themselves, and that, in the meanwhile, we are governing the country better than they would be likely to govern it themselves, although why we should conceive it our mission to educate and rule over Egyptians any more than Chinese no one has ever satisfactorily explained. The whole thing is a curious exemplification of the fatal consequences of one false step and the difficulty of withdrawing from it.

When Lord Salisbury succeeded Mr. Gladstone as Prime Minister in 1886, he returned to power with a full determination to act on the traditional Tory principles in respect to our relations with continental states. He is unquestionably a man of great intellectual power. He saw that public opinion would not allow him too brutally to reverse the policy of his predecessor. But there is a vein in his character that renders it a positive pleasure to him to say one thing and to do another. With non-intervention on his lips, he has perpetually interfered in matters that in no way concern us; and with assurances that our empire is large enough already, he has extended its area wherever he could get an opportunity. He cares little about domestic politics, but he aspires to play a great part on the world's stage. The dominant feeling that actuates him is hatred of Russia and of France. Soon after his accession to power, a German Prince was ejected from the throne of Bulgaria, and another German Prince was placed on the throne. So far as regarded us, and so far as regarded the Bulgarians, it was tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee. But Russia, Lord Salisbury thought, had been at the bottom of the change. For more than a year, there-

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fore, he penned despairing appeals to Austria, Germany, and Italy, imploring them to join in a crusade to reëstablish German Prince number one upon the Bulgarian throne, and he only desisted when this Prince insisted upon marrying a lady who was not of royal birth, and when he discovered that number two was more distasteful to Russia. If he had had his way, Europe would have been involved in war in order to maintain on the throne of Bulgaria Prince Alexander of Battenburg.

The Triple Alliance was Lord Salisbury's great opportunity. After the annexation of Alsace and of a portion of Lorraine by Germany, the aim of Prince Bismarck was to secure allies in the event of France's seeking to regain her lost provinces, and in any case to hinder France from forming an alliance with any other power, which might, in the event of war, range the power on the side of France. For a time he effected this object by playing off the jealousies of Austria and Russia, and induced these two powers to unite with Germany in what he was pleased to call a "league of peace." When Russia broke loose from this alliance he turned to Italy. That kingdom has all the weaknesses of a *parvenu*. It was delighted to be treated as a great power. It had no quarrel with France, and there was not the remotest probability of France attacking it. But M. Crispi, then its Prime Minister, fell under the blandishments of the tempter. He had, however, the sense to see that, if Italy joined in a war against France and sent troops to Germany, the Italian coasts would be at the mercy of the French fleet. Prince Bismarck therefore appealed to Lord Salisbury to give Italy assurances that, in the event of war resulting from an alliance with Austria and Germany, England would protect her from the consequences. These assurances were given, but what their precise nature was has never been known. At first Lord Salisbury, when questions were asked in Parliament, boldly denied that he had done anything. When, however, M. Crispi and other Italian statesmen asserted that Italy had joined the Triple Alliance because she knew that she could count upon England coming to her aid in case of need, Lord Salisbury had to change his tone, as otherwise he would have been confronted with his own assurances. During the last session of Parliament, consequently, he fell back upon ambiguous phrases, from which, however, it might be gathered either that he had pledged the Tory party to Italy, or that he had assured Italy that in the

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event of a war England would actually interfere to maintain the *status quo* in the Mediterranean. The Liberal party, however, met these disingenuous utterances by taking note that whatever assurances had been given they had not been revealed to Parliament, and that, therefore, however binding they might be on Lord Salisbury and his party, they were not binding on the country.

While Lord Salisbury compromised us, so far as he dared, in Europe by an alliance with Austria, Germany, and Italy against France and Russia, he annexed vast territories in Africa. The possession of the Cape Colony has been fruitful of trouble to us—it has involved us in numerous wars, most of which were promoted by the colonists for their own aims. It is our fashion to encourage missionaries to introduce themselves into uncivilized regions. No sooner do they get there than they meddle with temporal matters and get into trouble. Then speculators deem that a new field is opened out to them and they import spirituous liquors. After this come gold prospectors; they purchase for a trifle mining claims from some native chief, and bring out their claims as companies in England with a huge bogus capital. Agriculturists follow in the track, and lay hold of farms. Finally the country is placed under British protection, and then comes annexation, when the last state of the native is far worse than the first.

In South Africa, the Dutch element is the prominent factor. Provided that neither the Imperial government nor the colonial government interferes with them they are apathetic, and the consequence is that, although recent investigations have revealed much official corruption in Canada, the government of Canada compares favorably in the matter of purity with that of the Cape Colony. To our Imperialists it is a matter of reproach that we allow the Dutch Transvaal Republic to exist in Africa. We annexed it once, but the annexation was brought about so fraudulently, and these Republicans (who are men of war) showed themselves so blind to the honor of being British subjects that we restored to them their independence; greatly to the indignation of our Imperialists, who have not ceased to curse Mr. Gladstone for doing this act of justice.

During the present tenure of office of the Tories, there has been a rush of European powers to Africa, and the Black Continent has been parcelled out amongst them. It is needless to say that we have secured our share of the spoil, and thus we have become

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possessed of large territories in Central Africa, mainly consisting of jungle, and inhabited by tribes that either enslave or eat each other. The basis for this partition was what is termed the *Hinterland* doctrine, which means that whenever a European Power has established itself on the coast, it has a right to all land behind it. In the case of Germany and France we admitted this doctrine, but when Portugal asserted it, we explained that, as the Portuguese are not sufficiently awake to the wickedness of slavery, and as they have never used their opportunities either to sell rum to the natives or to Christianize them, we have a right to take such portions of the Dutch *Hinterland* as we think may suit us.

Our mode of exercising some sort of sway over these vast districts is a curious one. We grant a charter to some speculators, securing to them the exclusive right to make laws, to levy taxes, and to trade within the district. Of these chartered companies there are several. The most important is that called the Chartered Company of South Africa. Some years ago an Englishman named Rhodes betook himself to South Africa. He was a company manager, and he brought out various companies that proved more remunerative to their promoters than to their shareholders. When diamonds were discovered at Kimberley Mr. Rhodes went there, and with considerable skill consolidated all the companies into one great monopoly. He thus became a South African financier of the first water. There is a country in South Africa called Matabeleland that is ruled over by a powerful chief called Lobengula, and this chief has some vague claim of sovereignty over another territory called Mashonaland. An emissary was sent to Lobengula in order to obtain a general mining concession over these two territories, which together are of about the size of France. He returned with the concession signed by Lobengula, although that ruler has since pleaded that he did not know what he was signing. Be this, however, as it may, the concession fell into the hands of Rhodes and half a dozen kindred spirits. Rhodes came over to England and asked the government to grant him a charter over the two territories. At first the government declined, but when he associated with his scheme the Dukes of Fife and of Abercorn the government proved more pliable and the charter was granted. In the meantime the Cape Colonists testified their admiration of his financing genius by making him

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their Prime Minister. The charter having been secured, a company was formed, which bought the concession for four million pounds, paid, of course, in shares. This company let their "rights" to a second company, called the South African Chartered Company, on condition that this second company pay to the first company half of all the profits and take upon itself all the expenditures. One million pounds was subscribed to the chartered company, and it is now the only power in these vast territories.

Every English subject entering these territories is forced to sign an undertaking to obey the laws of the company, and puffs are diligently circulated that Mashonaland is another Ophir, with a view to selling the shares of both companies to investors. At first the shares were at a high premium; but, as no gold was discovered in paying quantities, the price of the shares fell. To meet this the promoters, having heard that there was gold in the neighboring territories belonging to Portugal, organized a raid, and what was deemed the richest portion of these territories was seized. Vainly the Portuguese protested, and finally they were bullied by the British government into making over to the company a portion of the territory that had been acquired in this filibustering fashion. At present the shares of the parent company are unsaleable, and those of the Chartered company are only maintained above par by stock-jobbing processes, and the major portion of its funds has been expended, with little prospect of the outlay ever being recouped. I have entered somewhat in detail into these proceedings, because they exemplify how the area of the British Empire is extended under a Tory government, and how such a government collusively plays into the hands of the few in their financial designs upon the money of the many, provided that amongst the few are Dukes and such like people. If the amount of money expended in African wars, the annual drain on the Exchequer for a police force, and the sums lost in rotten companies brought out in consequence of our annexations in Africa, were added up, the total would far exceed any benefit that we either have derived, or that we are likely to derive, from our territorial property in that continent.

In Asia, we own India and we have other possessions. India is in many ways valuable to us. But our Imperialists are in perpetual dread of its being attached by Russia. That empire

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stretches across northern Europe and northern and central Asia. In central Asia there were a number of half-civilized Khanates, which were little better than robbers' dens. To the huge indignation of our Imperialists, these Khanates have been suppressed by Russia, whose territories are thus extended to the northern slopes of the range of mountains that form the northern frontier of India, and it seems actually to have been considered that a great belt of land ought never to have been reclaimed from barbarism, in order that our rule in India should not be endangered by the vicinity of any civilized power. Russia is now building railroads in this belt, and she is denounced by our Imperialists as though she were guilty of a crime.

A few years ago we were almost involved in a war with Russia, because that country laid claim to a place called Sarakoff, in the vicinity of Afghanistan. No one seemed exactly to know to whom Sarakoff belonged, or, indeed, where it precisely was. But it was urged that the possession of this mysterious place by Russia would furnish her with a basis for an invasion of India. At present I believe that Sarakoff is in the peaceful possession of the Czar, and even our most ardent Imperialists have forgotten its existence. Shortly after our outcry about Russian designs on this obscure tract of country, we proved our sincere disapproval of all Asiatic annexations by European governments by ourselves annexing Upper Burmah, and proclaiming as rebels any of the inhabitants who objected to becoming British subjects, and we dealt severely with all those who did not take heed to this proclamation. In Asia, indeed, as elsewhere, our doctrine is, that we have a divine mission to annex all land that we may lust after, but that any other power that does the same is guilty of an offence alike against the laws of God and of man.

This dread of Russia in India is at the bottom of the "Eastern question." In the north, Russia has no port that is open in winter. In the south her ports are limited to those on the Black Sea, of which Turkey has the key, and in common with the other great powers of Europe the Czar is a party to the treaty which forbids vessels of war to pass through the Dardanelles. That Russia should not extend her sway either in Europe or in Asiatic Turkey, or in Persia, and thus reach the open sea, has long been our traditional policy. On account of this we engaged in the Crimean war.

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On account of this Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury preached a crusade against Russia, when a few years ago she was seeking to free the Christian nationalities in Roumelia from Turkish oppression. On account of this the Armenians are maltreated and Asia Minor is converted into a hell by the Turks. Lord Salisbury was led into a quasi-union with the Triple Allies by his personal sympathies and his antipathies, but he has frequently urged that this union with the Central Powers is desirable because they would join us in resisting Russian designs against Turkey, although, as a matter of fact, Germany, the leading member of the Alliance, has declared that no Pomeranian soldier shall ever give his life for Turkey; Austria would probably seek compensations were Russia to take Constantinople, and all three Allies would look on with calm indifference were Russia to make an advance into Asia Minor. Never has a traditional policy been more foolish or more costly. It is the very climax of absurdity; for Russia knows, that, whilst English statesmen may threaten, any English statesman who involved his country in a war to bolster up the sway of the Turk would at once be hauled from power by the people of England.

The actual position of our foreign relations was, therefore, this: Lord Salisbury was a warm friend of Germany, Austria and Italy, who have united together to restrain France or Russia from breaking the European peace. France and Russia have been brought together only through this counter alliance, and our sympathy with one of the trio of camps into which Europe is divided has naturally placed us in antagonism with the other camps. If a conflict ensued, Lord Salisbury had so compromised himself that we probably should have been dragged into it. During Lord Salisbury's tenure of office our navy and our army were largely increased, in order that he might have a backbone for his meddlesome aggressiveness, or, as he would put it, in order that the voice of England might be listened to, and that she might take her legitimate part in European complications. Fortunately his lordship and his party have reached the length of their tether. Since the general election he and they have ceased to trouble, and have been reduced to impotent denunciations of the Liberals for sacrificing the honor of the country, and destroying that very vague asset, her fealty.

What the Liberal foreign policy will be I cannot say, for, before

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now, Liberals in this matter have been as foolish as Tories. What it ought to be is to follow the example of the United States: to leave the continental powers to quarrel and fight as they please; to eschew further territorial aggrandizement; to regard with satisfaction the collapse of Turkey; to withdraw from Egypt; to live in peace and amity with all mankind, and to let it be known that, so long as we are not attacked, we shall attack no one.

Our continuous occupation of Egypt, in defiance of our pledges, causes—and justifiably causes—the entire world to distrust our good faith, and we pay with our honor by this occupation without any countervailing advantage. Under a former administration of Mr. Gladstone's a naval and military commission *ad hoc* reported that, in the event of war, it would be impossible for us to send troops or merchandize through the Suez Canal, for the passage would remain open to neutral vessels, and our adversary might at any time induce some captain of a neutral ship to scuttle her during the passage and thus close the canal, whilst our hold over the Red Sea would prevent its being used by the adversary for purposes of war. If, therefore, it be admitted—and it seems that it is—that a state of war with a Mediterranean power would oblige us to send troops round by the Cape of Good Hope to the East and to use this route for our commerce, it is difficult to understand what military advantage we can claim from our hold on Egypt, for were we at war we should be obliged to send a fleet to hinder a hostile landing, and an army to defend the country in case the fleet should fail in this object.

It is often urged by our Imperialists that England can never adopt the sound non-interference policy of the United States, because we have colonies all over the world, and the United States has none. I should rather have thought that the argument tells the other way. Is it likely that Australia, Canada, and our other great colonies, would maintain their somewhat thin connection with us, were their commerce crippled because we prefer a Battenberg to the scion of some other princely family as the ruler of Bulgaria? because we believe that our interests require that Christians should be misgoverned by Turks in Armenia or in Roumelia? because a number of Shylocks in Egypt want their pound of flesh? because some thieving, piratical company wants a few hundred square miles as a basis for swindling investors out of their money? because Russia has laid hands on some obscure

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robbers' den in Central Asia, or because France may seek to re-acquire Alsace and Lorraine? No. Radical Great Britain, and Colonial Greater Britain will have none of this measure, and as the Liberal party has become the Radical party, any "superior" Liberal statesmen who may wish to play such pernicious antics will find himself deserted by his followers.

The Radical policy is to cut adrift from continental jealousies and quarrels; to make all respect us by respecting all; to sympathize with the oppressed in all parts of the world, but to reserve our energies for the task of bettering the lot of the suffering millions within our own territories; to have an army and navy sufficient for defence, but not for aggression; to be ready, if unfortunately we have a dispute with any foreign power, to refer it to arbitration; and never to allow ourselves to be diverted from domestic reforms by endeavors to maintain that most shifty of shifty things—the European equilibrium,—or to remedy wrongs abroad in order that privilege may pass unperceived at home. Our home is large enough in all conscience. A British statesman has work enough to do within the limits of our empire, without arrogating to himself the mission of a Providence outside it.

The fault of our people is that they care so little for foreign politics that they pay no attention to them. In this way they have often allowed their pilots to let the vessel of state drift into war. Henceforward we must keep a closer watch on the man at the wheel, and if he shows the slightest tendency to carry the vessel into dangerous waters, we must replace him. During the last two centuries we have had many wars. We are now paying interest on a huge debt which has been heaped up in order to defray the cost of this policy of war. In no single case were these wars the result of our being attacked. In every case we were either the aggressors or we were fighting for matters that did not concern us. With this experience before us, and with the cost of our past follies still bound like a millstone around our necks, weighing on our shoulders, there is little probability of our people, now that power is in their hands, allowing our statesmen to repeat the errors of the past.

The Tory game has ever been to drag a red herring across the trail whenever the people are breast high for the reform of those domestic abuses by which Tories live and thrive. One reason

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why we fought Napoleon for years was to hinder the advance of democracy at home. The short Parliament of 1885 was the most democratic that ever sat. This was met by all "moderate Liberals" going over to the Tory camp on the plea that Mr. Gladstone's recognition of the right of Ireland to self-government would disintegrate the empire. This red herring has served its turn in the last six years. When it is run down, the Tory red herring will be an appeal to patriotism and passion, and they will try to stave off the day of reckoning for peers, parsons, publicans, and all others who enjoy political or monetary privileges, by means of foreign war. The "masses," however, are now the the masters of the "classes." Our international pundits will continue to pen long-winded essays to show that our commerce will disappear, that our manufactured goods will remain unsold, and that London will be in the power of an enemy, if we do not interfere and meddle to hinder any territorial change in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, or Polynesia, and if we do not make it our business to see that "legitimate" rulers continue to misgovern subject races.

I have such an ardent faith in the common sense of the masses, that I do not think that these diatribes will influence their judgment, or that they will consent again to play the Tory game of foreign war, in order to lose all chance of playing the radical game of domestic reform. The one danger that we incur is that a Tory administration may again get into power by the accident of an accident, and that we may drift into belligerency without well knowing how we have got there.

Whether there will speedily be a war in Europe is a question that no one can answer, or rather one in regard to which no answer is worth the paper on which it is written. At no period since the era of the great Napoleon have there been such vast armies in Europe, and either the Continental powers must reduce their forces or they will soon, one and all, be ruined. The richest country is France, but there the taxation is enormous. Both Austria and Germany are comparatively poor; Russia's credit is only maintained by the French being ready to buy its bonds; Italy is practically bankrupt already, and, notwithstanding this, all these countries are engaged in an insane struggle to compete with each other in amassing the material to wage a successful war.

If war does occur it will not in all probability be entered into

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of deliberate design. Some foolish word will be spoken; this will lead to further words. The passions will come into play, troops will be advanced to the respective frontiers of two states, then there will be a collision, and the whole of the continent will be in flames. One thing is certain: the present "armed peace" cannot eternally exist. Either the continent must bring it to an end by war or by reverting to a real peace policy. Were there a conflict between France and Russia on one side, and Austria, Germany, and Italy on the other, it is by no means certain that the latter would come out the victors. The French army is thoroughly reorganized, and the French soldiers, when properly commanded, are the best on the continent. Russia has an endless reserve from which to draw soldiers, and the Russians have more staying power than the Germans. On the other hand, if we are to judge by experience, the Austrians and the Italians make but poor soldiers, and the Germans, although probably their armies are more perfect, viewed as military machines, than any other in Europe, have lost many more battles than they have won, and one serious reverse would lead to the disintegration of the new German Empire.

The most dangerous man to the European peace is the German Emperor. He is a crack-brained Prussian lieutenant, and an Emperor by the irony of fate. His grandfather was under the delusion that he was the Vice-Regent of Providence as regards Germany; in this youth the illusion has taken the form that he is placed by Providence on the German throne to regulate not only the affairs of that country, but those of the entire world. He is flighty and unstable to an extraordinary degree. His idea of peace is that it should be a German peace imposed upon Europe. He seldom makes a speech without announcing that he will "smash" all who decline to accept his views, and at any moment he is capable of translating his words into deeds and dragging those who have been silly enough to become his allies into war.

The French will never permanently accept the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, but they are not likely to precipitate a struggle for the reacquisition of these provinces without the aid of some other power, and the only power likely to help them is Russia. But the Czar himself is so strongly disposed to peace that he would hesitate long before embroiling Europe in war with France as his ally. The Franco-Russian understanding, however, will in all proba-

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bility lead the German Emperor to eschew all thought of setting out on a march to Paris in order to prevent France from becoming as strong as she formerly was; indeed the moment when such an expedition was possible has passed away. Austria, moreover, although she may have joined the Triple Alliance, will always discourage a resort to arms, and in Italy there is growing up so strong a feeling against the country being a party to this alliance, that it is doubtful whether any Italian minister could give effect to its stipulations, all the more, since the Italians have realized that they will obtain no material support from us.

Although, therefore, armed to the teeth, any continental power dreads war, not exactly knowing what may come of it. There are, however, so many "questions" in Europe, there is such rivalry and hatred between the continental powers—there are so many real causes for difference; the strain is so great, and the cost of huge armaments so enormous, that it is difficult to believe that some spark will not before long set this magazine of combustibles on fire.

H. LABOUCHERE.

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THE HYGIENE OF THE ATMOSPHERE.

BY SAMUEL LOCKWOOD, PH. D.

THE popular judgment regards the snow and the air as emblems of immaculate purity. But if the former be melted in a vessel, and the water allowed to rest, its sediment will dispel the illusion. The snow in its descent has filtered the air, not only of visible substance, but also of some of its adulterant chemicals.

For a considerable depth, at least, the entire crust of the earth, excepting the crystalline rocks, is permeated with air. It is easy to find out pretty nearly what the weight and volume of this earth-air may be in a given known quantity of soil or mineral, taking a hundred cubic inches of air to weigh thirty-one grains. Suppose a quart vessel to be filled with earth, the weight being first determined. Let water be supplied until it will absorb no more. The air is now expelled, the increased weight is then ascertained, and the rest is simple. Thus we are confronted with the fact of an atmosphere which envelops our persons and which also penetrates the earth beneath our feet. This latter has been called by investigators the ground-air, and in some gravelly and sandy soils its volume is equal to fifty per cent.

The nether atmosphere, or ground-air, may, in spots, be the home of pestilential gases, due to putrescent matter in or on the soil, and known technically as miasmatic or malarial emanations. Such are usually swampy regions, but in every case the evil is superficial, and generally removable by man. Let us prefer to show the beneficent relation which the nether bears to the upper atmosphere, in their respective hygiene.

As the earth beneath is a laboratory for evolving nitrogen and making carbonic-acid gas, it thus becomes very largely the source of a food-supply to the roots of plants. It is also the chief aërial sustenance of all vegetation; for it is constantly escaping at the surface of the ground. Were it to accumulate there it would be

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disastrous to living things; so, albeit a much heavier gas, by the law of diffusion, or the kinetic force, it is rapidly disseminated and commingled with the air; yet, though greatly in the minority, every molecule of this gas scorns alliance with any molecule of the atmosphere proper. Thus is secured a dilution of the former, which, to the animal, is harmless, and to the plant beneficial.

With no straining after evidence of design, we may assert for Nature "a solemn league and covenant" in this one example of the conservation of the physical forces. Herein is also a beautiful illustration of the natural economics in hygienic chemistry. It is a quaternate compact. Thus with the correlation of forces as a quasi-constitution or basis of agreement, a mutual contract seems to have been entered into between four parties, securing equal and commensurate benefits. Of these, two of the parties in the alliance are organic, and two are inorganic. The atmosphere contributes of its opulence of oxygen, the vital gas, in conjunction with the essential nitrogen. On the oxygen the respiration of the animal depends; so it evolves carbonic-acid gas, which it contributes to the air for the support of the plant. So, too, the earth crust, with its ground-air, draws on the oxygen, and with its stored carbon also generates carbonic-acid gas, thus also as a solvent preparing plant food. But in this elaboration heat is evolved; so there are begotten thermal conditions of great advantage to the roots of the plant. For their contribution of carbonic-acid gas to the air, both the sentient animal and the insentient earth take oxygen in exchange. By this kinetic commerce the atmosphere maintains its normal balance of one part by volume of carbonic-acid gas to twenty-five hundred parts of air. And what about the fourth member in this righteous, though selfish compact—the plant? It has received generous nutriment from all three. Not to dwell on particulars, it returns to the air the oxygen and nitrogen, and to the earth the carbon. And this compact of conservation goes on in an increasing round of harmony, more practical far than the "music of the spheres."

And in this compact of the natural forces do we not see at least three remarkable facts? No loss of energy; no waste of material; and the minimum of cosmic wear. The common notion is that Mother Earth is throwing off the caloric of her deep fires, much as a prodigal consumes his substance. If I read the evidence correctly, it appears that the laboratory of the earth-rind, in its proc-

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ess of using the ground-air, in converting the oxygen and carbon into carbonic-acid gas, is like a perpetual furnace ever making heat, because its fuel fails not. Hence the earth-rind, in this tireless energy of converting the oxygen of the ground-air, with the carbon stored in the crust, into carbonic dioxide, is a perpetual heat-generator, and unfailing furnace, because its fuel fails not. Hence the cooling of the globe by radiation of its internal heat has herein a considerable offset. So it seems supposable that if the refrigeration of Earth is in the cosmic plan, it is set for some æon in the future. Thus, as a home of life, the perpetuity of the sphere and the quality of its envelope are guaranteed.

The atmosphere is a vast, thirsty sponge; and though we speak of dry air, it is never without vapor. The earth roots of the giant cactus in the burning plains are little else than grapnel anchors. Into the air it puts out fibrils, aërial roots, and these reach into and suck the vapor-laden air, as a moistened sponge.

The fact which bears on this is the weight of the air, for it is not imponderable. Moreover, its pressure is a variable quantity. In its normal state this pressure is comfortable. The discomfort, and sometimes danger, comes of the thermometric and the barometric changes; for thus the molecules are brought closer together, and the great air-sponge is the more absorbent, thus more rapidly robbing the body of moisture and heat. From this increase of pressure comes the increase of absorbing power; hence appears the difficulty of the problem how to ventilate dwellings without subjecting the occupants to a draft. In the winter we must warm our rooms artificially. But this means that we must heat the air we breathe. Now, this air, however pure it is, even if taken directly from the outer air, always contains dust, the consuming of which in heating the air will certainly produce some, however little, carbon monoxide.

Our plan does not require the giving in detail the names of the many substances which the chemist can detect in the air. Their proportion to the mass is so small that they may be compared to the rare gems in the mineral mass of the earth-rind. When the functions of oxygen, nitrogen and carbon are told, this set will embrace the chief essentials of the animal and the plant. But there is still one word about which very unwarrantable notions, if not a good deal of unnecessary mystery, exist. Many years ago Van Marum observed that the passage of the electric

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spark through oxygen produced a pungent odor, and affected otherwise the known properties of this gas. In a word, it became altered oxyyen—or, technically, it took on an allotropic form. To be quite plain: A molecule of oxygen is a union or impact of two atoms of the element, while a molecule of ozone is a "combination" of three. But as the corroding energy of the triplet is many times that of the twin, the latter has been called relatively passive and the former active oxygen.

In 1840 Schönbein named it ozone, literally the smelling or pungent gas. He found it in the atmosphere, and advanced the idea of its connection with catarrhal diseases; but of this he gave no proof. Ozone is oxygen in its most active condition, having an active eroding and destructive energy—that is, a very greatly increased oxidizing power. It is destructive of germs or organisms in the air; and this energy over thickly-populated places, finding so much material for its exercise, is really turned upon itself, as if suicidal, for it becomes converted back to oxygen. Hence the paradox that, though plentiful in city air, ozone is even there a rare gas. The air of mountains and at the seashore contains ozone in some quantity. In forests, it can hardly be found except high up in the trees, it being restored to oxygen by its expended energy on the leaf or dying vegetation on the ground. In the air over most open fields it is also found, though a French *savant* was not able to find it higher than forty-six feet from the ground.

The air is tenanted with inorganic and organic forms of extreme subtilty, germs both quick and dead.

In the old practice, infectious diseases were too often considered due to a malign influence or principle in the air. Though malignly, the plague was "divinely" sent. But science has her occasional prophet, like a voice in the wilderness, foretelling, he knows not how, some truth which the delving *savant* will afterwards establish by discovery or demonstration. Hence far more interesting to me than he of fiction is the John Ward, preacher by ordination, and administrator of physic without dispensation, the Vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon, from 1662 to 1681. His diary, written in Latin, obtained celebrity because of a bit of gossipy tradition which he tells, that Shakespeare died of a fever contracted in a carouse with two boon poets, Michael Drayton and Ben Jonson. But truly worthy of renown is a passage which contains the grand truth of modern pathology and

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hygiene, the germ theory. As I have only seen it in the Latin, a translation must be given.

"There is a plague-producing poison flying through the air, a congeries of excessively minute animalcules, which, entering human bodies, either by the breathing passage, or the pores of the skin, gnaw and destroy these parts. And from these they fly to other bodies, or alight upon them in a similar way; and propagating like a contagion, they infect these others, gnawing and destroying them, as they did those bodies from which they came. . . . This poisonous presence, as above, has made many lie sick, not only of the plague, but also of other diseases"

With medicaments for body and spirit both, this John Ward, vicar, was an active worker in the "great pestilence" of 1665. Hence the allusion in the words "plague" and "plague-producing" is apparent. To-day, instead of "animalcule" we use the term "microbe," so indispensable to the new science, Bacteriology, which deals with the objects now regarded as the germs of disease.

How far the doctrine reaches is not yet determined; but it is indisputable that some contagious diseases are sown by the air. And this is true of the diseases of both animals and plants. Near my home was a grove of red cedars, and seven miles from the grove was an apple orchard. Early in the autumn the cedars were heavily weighted with an unsightly crop of fruit looking like stringy, or ragged oranges. It was a growth of the common cedar apple, a true fungus, known as a *gymnosporangium*, or one of the fungi which have naked spore-vessels. The next season the orchard was badly smitten with disease. Every tree looked as if scorched by fire; every leaf was brown instead of green, and had many eruptions of the epidermis like little boils. Each eruption was a tiny spore-filled cup of the fungus *ræstelia*. Now for a curious fact: for a long while fungologists regarded these two fungi as of genera so widely distinct as not to be cognate. It is now known that they represent stages in the life-career of one and the same species. The spores of the cedar apple, if sown on the leaves of the cedar, will not germinate; whereas, if sown on the apple tree, they will grow, but not into *gymnosperms*, or cedar fungi, but into *ræstelia*, the apple-leaf fungus. And, conversely, the spores of the *ræstelia* will not grow on the apple tree; but carried by the winds to the cedar tree, they will grow there and produce the true cedar apple.

Omnipresent in the atmosphere are the invisible spores of the fungi, known as the *torulacei*. They beget many of the moulds

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and mildews seen on decaying vegetation. Some of these act also as ferments, decomposing vegetable and animal matter. Of this group, for good and evil, the air almost everywhere contains the spores of the *torula cerevisiæ* or yeast-fungus, literally the mother of vinegar, alcohol and leavened bread.

And in respect of those microbes of the atmosphere which are set down as germs of disease, it can hardly be doubted that their relation to the fungi is pretty close. They are really plants, mostly known under the generic names of *bacilli* and *bacteria*. They are usually rod-like in form, and so small as to be invisible, except with the skilful use of a well-equipped microscope. Each rod perpetuates its species, either by self-division or by spores. Generally these tiny sprites love darkness rather than light. Some seem set for goodness, and some for evil; for some are scavengers removing by fermentation or putrefaction, and others are propagators of disease. Their vitality is marvellous. They will come out of melting ice full of vigor for mischief, and the spores of some will resist the heat of water nearly to the boiling-point. As with us higher mortals, protoplasm is the life-stuff in these infinitesimals; and this instable substance will break up under much exposure to the oxidation of the atmospheric air, in sunlight. Yet the anthrax thrives and lives, long multiplying in the buried beast, and coming to the surface to be eaten with grass.

A fact of no common interest respecting these microbes is the diurnal fluctuations of their habitancy of the air. The presence of *bacteria* always rules high at about eight o'clock in the morning. Then begins a gradual decrease until their least presence for the day occurs at the meridian. This lasts for about one hour. Then a gradual increase sets in, and at about eight o'clock of the evening the maximum is again reached. Until about eleven o'clock, or near midnight, their number is considerable, and a great diminution occurs between that hour and three o'clock, when the number begins to rise, until at eight in the morning the maximum is again reached.

But besides these disease-originating organisms, the microbes, the atmosphere carries many other kinds of substance, which perform the rôle of irritants. Though the agents of great suffering, their action does not ordinarily imperil life. Let us consider this feature of the air-dust.

A distressing malady is *æstivis*, or hay-fever. Behind the disease

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is a neurosis, or supersensitiveness of the nerve centres. The air passages have their mucous walls in a disordered condition, and in a state of tenderness not unlike that of the outer flesh when scalded or denuded of the skin. Hence, generally, air-dust of any kind is a painful irritant to the mucous surface. And probably this is especially true of the organic or vegetable matter in the air. As president of the United States Hay-Fever Association, it seemed my duty to try to throw some light on the question of the difference of the air in places where *æstivis* prevailed, and the regions sought as sanitaria being largely exempt from the malady. Possibly in these mountain retreats, owing to the resins of the balsam forests, peroxide of nitrogen, mistaken for ozone, is present. The air, too, is dryer and its average much cooler, all of which makes the summer climate more tonic. Yet it seemed to me that the chief factor was to be sought in the character of the air-dust itself. In a word, the instrumental work was less with the barometer and the thermometer than with the microscope.

Accordingly in August and September, at my retreat in the White Mountains, at an elevation of about 1,500 feet, I set traps to catch the contents of the air, instructing my son, by correspondence, to do the same at the same time at my home in New Jersey, at an elevation of nearly 300 feet above the sea. His daily catch was put away in an air-tight box to be studied on my return. My mountain catch was inspected with the microscope on each succeeding night. The New Jersey catch was, in time, carefully studied, and compared with that from the mountains, and many careful drawings were made. These traps were simply strips of glass three inches long and one wide, each before exposure, being smeared with pure glycerine.

The mountain traps were well charged with dust. But the inorganic, or road dust predominated. There were also motes of woody fibres, and it was interesting to notice, so nicely were the cells separated, that the kind of wood, namely, the conifera, was at once apparent. The exuviæ of vegetation, in delicate flakes, almost like epithelial scales, were there. And even an occasional trait of some insect structure appeared. All, however, was absolutely invisible to the unaided eye. But the game sought, namely pollen, was truly rare. Doubtless the season was exceptional, such was the frequency of rain. My particular quest was pollen, and only on two traps in fifty did I find any. One yielded five

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grains of *aster* pollen, and another three grains of *spiræa*. This paucity of pollen was a genuine surprise.

The study of the home slides afforded an astonishing contrast. A single trap gave me over 200 pollen grains of ragweed, or Roman wormwood, probably the very worst irritant of *æstivis*. Then there was hardly a slide without pollen of some kind. Time will not allow for technical descriptions, but there were pollens also of other plants, though the ragweed dominated largely over all. There was mineral dust, too, in great quantity, woody matter, and considerable débris of an artificial sort, such as fibres of woollen and cotton goods, peculiar to populous places. Scales of insects, great quantities of very fine vegetable exuviæ that I have likened to epithelial scales, were present in profusion. But, to my surprise, the traps showed a considerable amount of fungus spores, rather pretty, but decidedly unlovable objects when once inside the air-passages. They were the spores of smut and bent and mould. Some were in the form of tiny barrels, others like pods, and others in granules. But the list is too long to enumerate. As worthy of having their forms preserved for the engraver, nearly two hundred figures were drawn, simply the selection from the catch of seven traps in about one hundred. I did not detect one microbe, though my observations were subjected to some disadvantages which could admit of their escaping detection.

In my judgment, of the ingredients which make up the air-dust, pollen, especially that of the ragweed, is the worst for the sufferer from hay-fever. A statement of the way in which this one ingredient of the air-dust produces torment shall close this inadequate sketch of the hygiene of the atmosphere.

It is easy to understand that for the subject of asthma, or any allied catarrhal affection, to inhale dust is to beget a painful sense of suffocation, and where hay-fever is accompanied with asthma, alarming spasms are thus excited. But this is especially so if in that dust the pollen of flowers is present; for, particularly if the grains be burred or spiny, the effect is to lacerate or scour the supersensitive mucous area. Then, too, in this state of hyperæsthesia, the walls of the air-passages give out an excessive secretion of a hot acrid fluid. This will make a quasi-decoction of the pungent, perhaps poisonous, essential principle of the pollen grain, as in the ragweed.

But the pollen of a flower is set for the performance of a func-

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tion, exacting of it an individual and peculiar activity, which is displayed in a bit of automatism looking wonderfully like instinct. The style of a flower is composed in part of a loose, or more or less spongy, tissue, while the stigma at the top is charged with a saccharine, sticky mucilage. A pollen grain, borne by the wind or by an insect, usually falls on the stigma, and is anchored to it by the spines sticking into the gum. The moisture causes the grain to swell. There is a protrusion of the membrane at one or more of the thin places at the surface, whence a tube, or root-like process, emerges and penetrates the stigma. It seems to be an extension in a tubular form of the membrane, and is filled with the protoplasm of the cell. Having pierced the outer coat of the stigma, this tubule, by a sort of growth, keeps on lengthening and pushing its way down through the loose tissue of the style until it has reached the ovule at the base when fertilization takes place, and the future seed of that flower is assured.

This is the mysterious activity of the life-force in a pollen grain. And, curiously, this tiny vital automaton can be deceived; hence occurs the exercise of a pseudo-instinct. If one of these pollen grains be put on a drop of sweetened water, it will at once protrude its tubule. What then should hinder this spiny little thing, when its grapnels have taken hold of the mucus-covered membrane of the respiratory passage, from protruding its tubule and actually piercing the warm sensitive wall?

Let us now tabulate these four possible modes of action for the pollen of the air dust in hay-fever.

1. Its suffocating effect simply as an impurity of the atmosphere, thus exciting asthma.

2. As a mechanical irritant, begetting inflammation, even to excoriation of the mucous membrane.

3. As a toxic agent, poisoning the tissues.

4. As a pseudo-parasite, penetrating the soft and sensitive parts.

It should be repeated that these activities are here supposed to operate upon the system while in an abnormal state. In a word, behind all there is a hay-fever neurosis. The nasal ducts are the first to show suffering, the malady extending thence to all the respiratory organs and from these to other parts.

How often has the influenza, "la grippe," in the recent epidemic been the fatal prelude to pneumonia! Now Friedlander's

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pneumonia coccus, or germ, is known. But have we captured the microbe of this influenza, or catarrhal fever? True there are noteworthy intimations, but we must wait for the demonstration. Professor Weichselbaum, and the physicians, Adolph Jolles and Maximilian, of Vienna, announce the discovery of the influenza microbe. They say it is "cassock shaped, and of a dark blue color," with some resemblance to Friedlander's. What now, if this Vienna find should prove to be the progenitor of the pneumonia microbe, and in some way not unrelated to the change of fungus which we have instanced.

But why should our surmise stop here? The meteorological conditions have been unusual for a year or more; the temperature low in summer and high in winter, with excessive moisture —and late in the fall diseases of our domestic animals, the bovine fever, for instance, and this so closely preceding the catarrhal fever, or influenza epidemic. Hippocrates said, he was told by those who were best acquainted with horses, that they were subject to every ill that afflicts man. What, if in this case, and in this catarrhal fever, or "la grippe," it should prove, as in the fungus cited, that there is an important relation in this respect between man and beast—a lineage of the microbes not unlike that of the fungus propagating by alternations of its host?

And what an efficient cosmic carrier is our atmosphere. Literally on "the wings of the wind" in a score of days or less the compass of the earth may be made. We all remember the terrific eruption of Krakatoa. Even after the filtration of many months the atmosphere was still adulterated with the impalpable material mist of the so-called vocanic dust—so that, the whole world over, every horizon at sunset was colored with a lurid glow.

The knowledge of the air we breathe, its physical character, the air-dust, its invisible inhabitants, the microbes, their potencies for good or ill—all such should beget a practical wisdom in the sufferer, even though he may be a non-professional; for intelligently obedient to the laws which he understands, and limiting physic to the concoction of simples, he may for himself and others, like the good vicar, be a wise dispenser, though without a dispensation.

SAMUEL LOCKWOOD.

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"LONDON SOCIETY" AND ITS CRITICS.

BY LADY JEUNE.

IT WAS from no other desire than to give what I still venture to think is a true account of some of the aspects of the most powerful section of Society in London that the paper which I contributed to THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for May, 1892, was written, and after having run the gauntlet of varied and somewhat keen criticism I do not feel that in any important point that account has been refuted. In matters of opinion I may have been wrong, but as regards facts, I think my position has not been shaken. I do not wish to take part in any prolonged controversy. But there are one or two points which may be noticed, and, with the greatest diffidence, and only in deference to a widely expressed hope that some objections should be answered, I venture again to say a few words on the subject.

That I should be supposed to have selected the American public as the father confessor of English sins has excited the feelings of some of my critics somewhat unnecessarily, for no people are so intimate with our faults and shortcomings as our transatlantic cousins. Lady Frances Balfour piles up a terrible indictment on this score, but she need not make herself unhappy by imagining that for the first time the veil of our transgressions has been uplifted for the edification of the younger branch of the great English-speaking family. The Americans know far more about us than we know of ourselves, and there is no scandal, however small, however visionary, that the American reporter has not sniffed from afar, and retailed for the benefit of his *clièntèle*.

London has now become to Americans what Paris was, and they cannot come here in their thousands, going into Society, welcomed and fêted as they are, with many relations and friends

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married and settled in England, without being as fully alive to our vices and virtues as we are ourselves. There is a set into which they do not go, in whose very existence they hardly believe, and to which little of what I have written applies, but they probably draw their conclusions from what they see of the set in which it is the successful ambition of many of them to move; and, if I have pointed out the characteristics of that set, I have not, I suspect, done more than enable many Americans to verify what their own observation, or the information of their friends, has already suggested. Indeed, I will admit that one of my reasons for addressing American, rather than English, readers, was to tell them, what, I hope, is thought by not a few in England of that special part of Society, which perhaps appears to them the most admirable, as it certainly is the most conspicuous. If it is the ideal of any of them, let it at any rate be said that there are Englishmen and Englishwomen who are not blind to its faults, and let them not imagine that, if they achieve admission to that glittering circle, they are initiated into all the best life of England.

It is impossible, after what Lady Frances Balfour has said, to refrain from some reference to the influence exercised on Society by the Queen. No English man or woman, whatever his or her political opinions, could hesitate a moment in paying the tribute that is due to a sovereign whose whole life has been devoted to the welfare of her people, and whose example has been one of the purest and noblest in the history of the world; and the contrast between the court of Queen Victoria and that of her predecessors is one of the most striking in English history. The coarseness and dulness of the reigns of the early Georges, culminating in the immorality of that of George IV., were the closing pages of a story that one can dwell on with little satisfaction; and the accession of a Queen who had led the simple, uneventful life of the English girl of those days gave promises which have been more than fulfilled.

The cultivated, though somewhat cold nature of the Prince Consort acted as the best safeguard and support to the warm-hearted, impulsive and generous girl-Queen, and, through the too short wedded life of the two, the Court of England presented as high an ideal of purity of life and highminded purpose as could well be imagined. The blow which struck the country when the

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Prince died, and which crushed the stricken wife to the ground, will never be forgotten. During the long years of her mourning and seclusion the love and sympathy of the country have gone out to the Queen in no uncertain voice, and her people have never overlooked or forgotten the fact that, however irksome and at whatever cost to herself, the work of the country and its welfare has never been neglected for a moment, and that, in business and state matters, the Queen has been as vigilant and hard-worked as any of her ministers. The Queen's influence to-day is in many ways greater than during any period of her reign, but not in the same direction. The example of fifty-four years of devotion to her people's welfare has deepened and intensified the hold she has always maintained over their affections, and no one who was fortunate enough to witness the grand procession on her Jubilee day can doubt how deep and lasting is the sentiment of loyalty to the Queen. This feeling is shared in common by noble and peasant, but surely no one can deny that the restraining influence that her presence exercised over Society has practically disappeared.

It is true that in one important particular the power of the Sovereign is as great as ever, namely, in giving her sanction to the formal admittance of persons into Society by allowing them presentation at Court. The exercise of such power, and its jealous retention, is a real safeguard to society, and while administered as it now is, constitutes a tribunal of honor which satisfies every one as to its impartiality and probity. Save, however, in this particular, the individual influence of the Sovereign over Society and its leaders cannot seriously be said to exist to any appreciable extent as a restraining power, and even the criterion of presentation has, in point of exclusiveness, ceased to be critical.

One important change that has taken place is the very large increase in the number of those wishing to be presented, which has more than doubled in the last thirty years. It is well known that the Queen's simple tastes and ways of life always made great state functions less acceptable to her than more homely occupations and amusements; and had she continued to hold Drawing Rooms, it is probable that some attempt would have been made to limit the number of those admitted. Now no restriction exists except of the most elastic character, and if a person is not palpa-

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bly objectionable in reputation there is no reason against his being presented at Court. The relaxation of this one rule is sufficient to account for the presence of a very large number of people now in London Society who could not have entered it at all thirty years ago.

The Queen is kept well-informed of the events of the great world, and is said to have a very accurate knowledge of what occurs, but there it ends, and however much she may wish to express her approval or dissatisfaction, she cannot do so in the unmistakable yet quiet manner in which she could signify her opinion of persons and things if she were constantly brought into actual contact with them. None of the pageantry and pomp of the most brilliant court is ever wanting on state occasions in England, but the absence of the Queen and her *entourage* has done more to democratize English society than any of the many causes which have helped to bring about the changes of the last thirty years. The influence of the Queen's private life, while appealing strongly to the country at large, and endearing her to the mass of her people, is much more potent among the masses where the feeling to her is one of deep and chivalrous sentiment, than it is among the various sets of Society who take their cue from others in a more exalted position than themselves, but whom they see and with whom they come in contact occasionally only. It is obvious how little control the Sovereign, as long as she abstains from taking her recognized place in Society, can have over the heterogeneous mass of which it is now composed, and there can be no disloyalty in admitting what must now be indisputable.

While holding a strong opinion on this particular point, one cannot in fairness but admit that it may well be that the sentiment of loyalty and affection to the Queen is in a great measure due to her seclusion from the bustle and strife of public life. It may be that the policy which she has pursued for so many years may be dictated by a sagacious and profound knowledge of her people, who, in her isolation, with its pathetic dignity, see only a sovereign whose life presents an idyllic picture of home and simple pursuits, who, surrounded with all the grandeur and power of a great empire, chooses to work steadily for her people's welfare, never relaxing her thoughtful labors on their behalf.

Mr. Mallock in his article on London Society says that its nucleus still "consists of our old landed families, the most im-

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portant of which enjoy 'high titular rank,'" and no doubt this is so. But the nucleus is so small that it is almost submerged by the new elements which it has gathered around it. A large number of the old landed families have suffered so much during the last few years from the effects of agricultural depression and the various financial crises of the same period that, ceasing to direct and control Society as formerly, they have become dependent on the new aristocracy of wealth for their amusements and pleasure. And conscious that competition is impossible, they have shown no want of alacrity in availing themselves of what their new hosts are willing to offer for social recognition.

Mr. Mallock thinks that London, like a university or a public school, is divided into many sets wholly independent of each other. From what I am told I am not quite prepared to assent to his view that a college at least, if not a university, or a public school, does not take its tone from a particular set. But I should have thought it beyond question that in London almost every set, whatever its special cult, looks up to and is influenced by the set led by the acknowledged leaders of Society. In London a large section of Society is interested in knowing who are the friends and intimates, and what are the occupations and pursuits, of the Royal Family, and of the "smartest" (I hope that the *Spectator*, in consideration of the inverted commas, will allow me thus to use the word) people in the "upper ten," and with none is this interest more intense than with the new democracy of wealth, to whose influence Mr. Mallock ascribes the decadence of Society in these days.

The great increase of commercial wealth and the large number of new families it has brought into existence have undoubtedly largely contributed to the changes we are discussing, but not to so great an extent as to make them entirely responsible, for luxury was not unknown among the aristocracy before the rise of the rich middle class, and there are many great families who are even now suffering from the lavish expenditure of their forefathers, in whose day merchant princes were rare. Nothing has been more faithful, I might say more obsequious, than the imitation by the new families of the life and surroundings of the great families they strive to compete with. Who has not watched with amusement the growth of the family tree, the gradual increase of the pictures of ancestors on the walls, or the establishment of the family piper

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in an old Scotch castle now tenanted by some Mincing Lane millionaire. The sideboard groaning with gold and silver plate, the tribe of gorgeous footmen resplendent in gold and red liveries, are only a few of the indications in the houses of our new aristocracy of the slavish way in which they have copied and emulated the example of the older aristocracy in whose footsteps it is their delight to follow. The splendor and outward trappings of wealth and rank, which fitted a class rich with the traditions of the aristocracy of England, and which have always been accepted as part of its rôle, are adopted by its imitators just as the jay in the fable took the discarded feathers of the peacock to decorate himself, in the vain hope of being mistaken for the princely bird which had lost them.

Where there was position and wealth, there was always luxury, and, where it has survived the shock of agricultural and other financial depression, it exists still among the bluest blood in England, and is not the monopoly of the *nouveaux riches* or of the "strangers within our gates." It is the fashion to talk of the democratic tendencies of this century as quite a novel event in English history. The democratization of Society in England is now more rapid than hitherto, but it should never be forgotten that it is a characteristic of the English aristocracy, as distinguished from that of France, Austria, Spain, and Russia, and, to a less extent of Italy, that it has rested on other foundations than those solely of territorial possessions.

The names of a large number of the English nobility recall those of men who in law or in commerce laid the foundations of families which are now among the oldest and most dignified in England, and, unlike those countries to which I have referred, we have always recognized and accepted any man of commanding ability, whatever his birth or origin, and as a matter of course have admitted him to all the privileges of the social order to which he had raised himself, and to the most perfect equality and intimacy. The aristocracy of the bar, of commerce, and of the sword, has become so welded with our territorial aristocracy that but for the names we cease to remember from whence they came, knowing that by high character, integrity and great ability they fairly won their elevation; and many names of which Englishmen are proudest are those which testify that there is no position so high and honorable that an Englishman of character and talent

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may not attain to it, whatever his origin. But we have been also jealous and careful that none but the most worthy should receive the honors and social recognition to which their personal qualities entitle them, and that feeling, though not acting as a universal barrier, has prevented any great abuse of the privilege, except perhaps in the case of political favors. While the lines, however, were so strongly defined, and while a man was rewarded for his individual merit, the women belonging to him rarely if ever shared his good fortune, except as regards his title, their social recognition never following as a right, and only after many years of patient struggle, if ever, did his family rise to the same social position as its head. To quote only two well-known instances, I should say that neither Lady Peel nor Lady Beaconsfield was ever on the same terms of friendly and easy intimacy with the *grandes dames* of the London world as her husband was with every man of whatever high rank or position.

Now the social recognition of the whole family alters the position, and with a clever, bright wife and plenty of money a man may attain to any position of social success in London. His appearance, his past, his capacity, are all immaterial, supposing he has a better-half who knows how to play her cards properly.

Mr. Mallock maintains that some other qualities besides the "gold that gilds" are absolute necessities to insure social success in London, and goes so far as to say it is unattainable without them. I fear I cannot agree with him. No doubt some members of Society owe their entrance into it to their power to charm or amuse, and the power to charm and amuse implies the possession of qualities of various degrees of merit, but always of some distinction. But the great mass of Society owe few of the triumphs they enjoy to their wit, but much to their wine and food, and many a *cordon bleu* lays his head on his pillow every night with the satisfaction of knowing that his master and mistress would never be where they are but for his genius. Intellect, cultivation, refinement, are still the characteristics of certain sets in London, but the largest and most sought after is that whose aims are pleasure, and whose desires are the gratification of the moment.

Perhaps the aristocracy of England have been wiser in their generation than that of some other countries in receiving the newcomers and profiting by their wealth and their willingness to

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pay for some sort of social recognition. There is more worldly wisdom in sharing the pleasures provided for us in a more gorgeous and lavish manner than we could afford and accepting the position boldly, than in shrouding ourselves in the lonely grandeur of a ruined and faded past, surrounded by a poverty, which, however satisfactory to our *amour propre*, must be very unsatisfactory in every other particular. We can easily afford to bestow a pitying admiration on the Faubourg St. Germain in its scornful isolation from fashionable Paris and the life which lives and throbs around it, but we are far too philosophical to take that view of life ourselves, and thankfully accept the good things the "gods provide us," feeling with shrewd common sense that life need not be wasted in vain regrets after a lost position which is now only a memory.

We are cynically logical also, for we accept the whole situation; and the few restraining barriers which regulated who could be known and where we would go, have long ago been swept away, and now we go everywhere, Nothing could afford a more edifying sermon on my text than to cast one's memory back in a large, crowded drawing-room in London, and try to trace step by step the social victory which has crowned the persevering efforts of more than half the people in it to storm the citadel of Society; to recall the many rebuffs, the cold suspicions, and in many cases the insults and affronts heaped on them by those with whom they strove to be intimate. The reflections can hardly be pleasant to either side, but there can be little doubt as to which side has the advantage.

Mr. Osborne Morgan is very chivalrous in his defence of society, especially of the girl of the nineteenth century, whom he thinks a creature vastly improved by the emancipation of her life and education. He hardly does more than skim the surface in his criticism of my conclusions upon other subjects I touch upon. I can assure him, however, that if I am wrong, my deductions are the result of my own observation and not of any conjugal confidences. I do not for a moment wish to deny that the girl of the present day has a charm and an individuality very attractive in their way, but she is not an ideal English girl, nor do I think, judging from many of the homes that one knows, that the further development of her character in the same direction is desirable, or that the girls of to-day will make as good wives and mothers

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as their mothers were. Formerly the early married years of an Englishwoman's life were devoted to the cares and duties of maternity and of the household; her companions were her children, and she lived with them from the time they were old enough to lisp her name till they left her for homes of their own. The modern fashionable mother relegates those duties to a governess and nurses, and rids herself, as quickly as may be, of the responsibilities of bearing and of bringing her children up, so that she may participate in the gaiety and freedom which begin in a woman's life in England as soon as she marries. If higher education and mental development had made our Englishwomen what is represented by a very small number only of them, one would thankfully acknowledge the advantage of a system which has placed them all on a higher mental and social level than their ancestors. But the high type of girlhood which Mr. Osborne Morgan and Lady Frances Balfour evidently have in their mind is a rare development, and, indeed, I strongly suspect that my chief difference with them lies in the fact that they are fixing their eyes on one class, and I mine on another.

The set of which I wrote would have no influence outside its own small boundaries if it were not that the leaders of Society patronize it, and thus give it an importance and influence otherwise unattainable. There are other sets in English Society as highly born, more richly cultured, more difficult to enter, but these require some personal charm or gift from those who wish to belong to it. Each member contributes a quota of wit, intellect, beauty, or charm, which in itself constitutes a right to be admitted to the *camaraderie* and intimacy of its *milieu*. Lady Frances Balfour well describes it when she says that "ease and intimacy are the distinguishing marks of the social life of its members, and neither the wealth nor the rank of one's circle is of importance so long as he possesses these gifts; though those who have beauty and wealth to offer can never be of it; and though the portal is open to all, only such as are fitted by these qualities become members of the set, with all that is best and most agreeable in its inner life." But I venture to ask Lady Frances Balfour of what set is she thinking when she thus writes. Is it that in which the leading members read of their balls and concerts in the *Evening Post*, of their dresses and personal charms, described as the attractions of London and Sandown? I cannot well

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resort to the last weapon of the speaker and "name" names or I think I could illustrate my meaning very abundantly.

About the weaknesses and foibles of society one may laugh and make a jest, but it is from its increasing luxury and love of pleasure that the grave marks of its decadence spring which we cannot perforce ignore. The relaxation of some of the most wholesome rules for its guidance and control are bringing about many serious changes of which at this moment we can hardly guess the danger. I will now venture to notice only two. One, and probably the most dangerous, is the obvious way in which women are losing their control over Society, and with it the respect due to their position from men. The tone of conversation, the stories told in their presence, and the want of deference to them in the behavior of men, are very significant changes. The other I intended to make one of the main points of my former article, and I refer to it again in order to remark that I have not seen any substantial contradiction of it. I mean what I cannot help describing as the mercenary character attaching in an increasing degree to relations otherwise deplorable enough.

I have now said my say. I have not the slightest wish to assume the functions of a censor, or to play the part of a Cassandra. But after all the communications I have received about my article and all I have seen written about it, I cannot help thinking that those best qualified to judge of the matter do not think I was very far from the mark. Perhaps even the unexpected interest my paper excited is a witness to the same thing—*ce n'est que la vérité qui pique.* If so, I can only hope that in the conflict between right and wrong, in which, in our country, the right is never, I believe, permanently or greatly overweighed, my poor words may contribute something to turn the scale.

M. JEUNE.

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THE FRENCH ELECTORAL SYSTEM.

I.—A FRENCHMAN'S VIEW.

BY M. ALFRED NAQUET, OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

COMMITTEES (*comités*) no longer exert their old influence in French politics. They are now little else than groups of friends who act as sponsors to the public for the candidates, and it often happens that the latter give importance to the former, instead of the reverse. Custom seems to require that a man should not, by his own act, ask for the suffrages of his fellow citizens; so the would-be deputy screens himself behind a small body of supporters who appear on all public occasions as his patrons. They countersign his printed circulars and are conspicuous at his meetings by their presence, but by little else, for it is rare that any of these committee-men can make a speech.

When deputies were chosen by general ticket (*scrutin de liste*), that is, when all the deputies allotted to a Department were voted for by all the electors of the Department, then these committees had a little more weight, for they aided materially in bringing about that necessary accord among aspirants for nomination, in eliminating compromising candidates, and, in a word, in drawing up a strong ticket. At that time it was the custom for the different parties to hold in each township what are called in America primaries, where were chosen delegates, who assembled at the capital of the Department—you would call this a State convention—and, after listening to speeches from the candidates for nomination, determined on the ticket.

But it did not follow that the decision of these conventions was always respected. "Bolting" and "knifing" were not uncommon. The truth is out, people do not like "suffrage at two degrees." Universal suffrage prefers to designate the candidates as well as elect them (and how it accomplishes this will be

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shown in a moment). The convention system renders the first *desideratum* impossible. Nor are the primary meetings free from this same objection; for, however large they may be, they can, at the most, embrace only a minority of the voters. And, furthermore, the system of primaries was not general. Again, in many instances, the delegates to the convention were self-appointed. Thus, it came to pass that, instead of the candidates being chosen by the masses, they were put forward by a clique of politicians who had usurped the rights of the people. There are instances, consequently, of individuals whose candidature was set aside by the conventions appearing in the field "on their own hook," and coming in at the head of the poll.

Still another circumstance tended to check the acclimation in France of the convention system.

According to the election law of 1849, a single* polling was sufficient to secure a choice, except in the very rare case where no one of the candidates had secured an eighth of the ballots of the registered voters. With this exception, the candidate who had the highest number of votes, even if this number was inferior to the united strength of his various opponents, was declared elected. In a word, it was not necessary then as it is to-day to obtain at the first polling, in order to win, at least half plus one of the votes cast, or, as we say in France, an absolute majority; consequently, under the old law each party dared put only one ticket in the field, for if it divided on two, it ran the risk, although it might really have on its side a majority of the voters of the district, of letting some of its opponents get in. If this feature of the law of 1849 had been retained, it is highly probable that this necessity for union would have given new strength to the convention system and there would have gradually developed in France a party organization analogous to that which exists in the United States.

But this part of the old law was stricken out in the new one, and to-day, whether the election be by *scrutin de liste* or by *scrutin uninominal*—that is, each district electing one candidate, as in America—the first polling produces no result unless somebody has secured the ballots of at least one-quarter of the registered voters, and also at least half plus one of the ballots actually cast. If this

*According to the present electoral law a second polling occurs a fortnight after the first in certain cases, explained further on in this article.—ED. NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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majority has not been obtained by some one of the candidates another polling must be held a fortnight later, when a simple majority of the ballots cast suffices for a choice. The consequence of this system is that universal suffrage itself, acting directly, assumes the duties of the delegated convention and decides who shall be the candidates for the final and decisive polling. On the first election day, therefore, votes may be scattered without risk, for if there were to be as many candidates as there are voters the ballots of one party would all be added together for the defeat of the common enemy. Two weeks later each party rallies around the candidate who obtained the largest number of votes at the first polling, or, if the election is by *scrutin de liste*, the ticket is made up from those names which stood highest. Now there must be no "getting out of the party traces." But party discipline is acquiesced in with all the more readiness because it is universal suffrage which has settled upon the candidates and not a handful of schemers in convention assembled.

There is still another reason why the power of committees and conventions is weakened by *scrutin uninominal*. As the candidate may now confine his attention to a district very much smaller than the whole Department, which has to be covered in the case of *scrutin de liste*, he is able to make a thorough canvass and put himself in direct communication with all his constituents. He is master of his own acts, and is not hampered by fellow candidates, as is the case in the *scrutin de liste* system. So if he is a man of ability, activity and energy, a committee is of little consequence, as far as he is concerned. He goes from man to man, from town to town, and takes part, as often as possible, in those joint debates which are as common in a political campaign in France as they are now rare in America.

Public meetings are one of the most effective instruments in a canvass, and the candidate who can "think on his feet" has a great superiority over a less fortunate rival. Another aid is the press. Candidates blessed with a long purse scatter broadcast newspapers favorable to their canvass, and in case these are lacking, circulars are showered on the district. In the big cities handbills play an important part. Notwithstanding the law, which forbids it, each candidate hides his rival's bills under his own, to the profit of stationers and printers, and to the amusement of street loafers.

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In January, 1889, during the famous Boulanger–Jacques contest at Paris (M. Jacques, defeated at this time, has since been elected to the Chamber), this battle of bill-posters assumed Titanic proportions. I have space to cite but one episode of this serio-comic struggle. In a street near the Bourse two posters were hard at work for their respective candidates, the bills of the one being immediately covered by those of the other. The eighth layer of Jacques manifestoes was rapidly hiding the same number of Boulanger manifestoes, when the General's acolyte had a happy thought. While the rival was busily absorbed in this work a Boulanger bill was deftly stuck on his back, and for the rest of the day he continued his labors amidst shouts of laughter, echoed in the evening papers till the incident went the rounds of Paris.

In a competition of this kind the richest candidate comes out ahead, of course. But while one cannot wholly abandon this custom, one must admit that it has only little effect on the result of the election. The newspapers and public meetings are the powerful agencies.

A French political gathering differs materially from an American one. In the first place it is the rule in France for the audience to choose the officers of the meeting. Again, the opponents of those who called the meeting are given an equal chance to speak. There are no policemen to keep order. During the early years of the Third Republic our political reunions were relatively calm. After some little tumult over the election of the officers, the speakers managed to be heard. But to-day an execrable habit seems to have taken possession of all parties. Bands of young men disturb systematically the meetings of their opponents and drown the voices of the speakers, until things have come to such a pass that one can obtain order only through the efforts of an organized body of supporters. The maintenance of this temporary police force increases considerably the expenses of an election.

The cost of an election varies in different places, and there is a tendency towards its increment. At the beginning of the present republic candidates were generally surrounded by devoted supporters who lent halls, stuck bills, and distributed ballots without pay. But now love for the cause has given way before desire for private gain, and candidates have to pay for everything, even for the good-will of the press.

When in February, 1871, I ran for the Chamber of Deputies

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for the first time, my election expenses footed up 500 francs. My second election, which occurred six months later, I having resigned my seat for certain reasons, cost me 800 francs. In 1876 a double candidature with two pollings in one case required 3,200 francs. In 1877 I spent 1,000 francs, and the following year 1,200 francs. To-day a canvass in any of the Vaucluse districts, where I used to run, eats up a round 10,000 francs. In 1873, 40,000 francs was spent on the election of Barodet in Paris. General Boulanger and his opponent in the fight of January, 1889, together paid out over a million francs.

This increasing burden of election expenses is the more to be regretted because, on account of the absence of party organization, the weight all falls on the candidates. Unless some remedy is found for this state of things it will hand over the Chamber of Deputies to a plutocracy. Sometimes, however, the evil is removed by the parties getting together a campaign fund. Thus, in 1889, the Conservatives distributed among their candidates five million francs, due to the generosity of an arch-millionaire, whose name I am not free to mention. During his three years' struggle, General Boulanger spent a like sum, the origin of which was unknown at the time—this is not the case to-day—even to his own committee.* The Government, too, whose secret service fund was not equal to the occasion, had recourse to friendly private capital in order to be in a financial condition to cope with its foes.

Such is the electoral system of France. Much more might be said, perhaps, in order to complete this sketch. But the limits of this article force me to keep within bounds. I think, however, that I have written enough to give the grand Democracy on the other side of the Atlantic a sufficiently clear idea of the methods of universal suffrage here, and of the way in which its working in France differs from the practices to which Americans are accustomed.

ALFRED NAQUET.

II.—AN AMERICAN'S VIEW.

BY THEODORE STANTON.

IN THE preceding article my friend M. Naquet has, according

*M. Naquet was the most prominent member of this committee.—ED. NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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to his habit, treated his subject in an excessively clear and entertaining manner. But I will not obtrude, perhaps, being an American, if I attempt to supplement his excellent paper by presenting a few considerations treated from an American standpoint.

What first strikes an American when examining French election methods is the almost total absence of any "machine," at least of our own type. There does exist a pretty powerful government control, about which a word will be said further on in this paper. But French party management is of such a simple nature that, taken as a whole, it may be safely said that there is no effective organization. And what there is of it is confined chiefly to the "outs." This state of things is all the more remarkable from the fact that the French have a rare genius for organization.

This lack of party organization is due to several causes. The form of government has been changed so often during the past century that political organism has not had time to develop. Then again, the various parties that exist to-day have been so broken up into factions since 1870 that individual rather than united action was the natural outcome of the situation. For several years Gambetta was an all powerful "boss," though there was no real party machinery behind him. This lacuna is filled, however, in a large measure, at least for Republicans, by the part played by the Central government in elections. This peculiar and influential participation, which differs very largely from our American methods, now calls for a word of notice.

Louis XIV. declared that he was the State. To-day it may be said, with equal truth, that the cabinet is the State. This is especially so in home affairs, and particularly so of the Minister of the Interior, who probably exercises greater power within the boundaries of France than does the President of the United States throughout the Union. The Prefects, or Governors, of the eighty-six Departments into which the territory of France is divided, are appointed by the Minister of the Interior, and are always under his direct orders; and as these Prefects have the last word in all the administrative affairs of the Departments, and enjoy the veto power over the acts of the departmental legislatures and the various town councils, the excessively tight grip which the Minister of the Interior has on the nation becomes strikingly evident. In Paris, furthermore, the whole police force is at his beck, and his colleagues of the war and navy offices are always ready

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to lend him a helping hand if circumstances require it. Nor, when necessary, does this modern Great Elector hesitate to use, and to use freely, these tremendous powers. At the end of a hotly contested campaign more than one prefect has been dismissed because "he failed to carry the election." If Boulanger and Boulangerism were nipped in the bud, it was because M. Constans, who, by nature and habit, was not overscrupulous, was armed with strong weapons, which enabled him to strike quickly and mortally. It may be said, therefore, that in things political the French Minister of the Interior is an arch-boss, before whom our local, State and National bosses sink into utter insignificance.

One of the minor causes—in some instances, as during the struggle of 1889, one of the chief causes—of the power exerted by the Minister of the Interior in election matters is the secret service fund, which is used to influence the newspapers and to aid impecunious but servile candidates. In the United States a mint of money is spent in a Presidential campaign; but it is subscribed in a more or less voluntary manner by private individuals, and is dispensed by the national committees of the respective parties. It is not taken from the Federal treasury and placed where it will do the most good by a member of the cabinet. In France, however, the party in power makes little if any effort as a party to raise a fund of its own. It looks to the Minister of the Interior to provide the sinews of war. When, as in 1885 under the Brisson cabinet, this side of the campaign is neglected, "the powers that be" see their majority in the Chamber woefully reduced; while when the government, as in 1889, aided by the funds of the *haute finance*, as it is believed, is lavish with money, then it easily carries the day.

Thus it happens that in France the whole people is taxed to pay a portion of the election expenses of one of the political parties, and as only out-and-out supporters of the cabinet in power are likely to obtain any of this pap, it happens that a minority of the nation has a part of its election bills paid by the whole nation. Public men have become so accustomed to this method that even the most honorable aspirant for legislative distinction would scarcely hesitate, if his purse were short, to ask for and accept financial aid of this sort, thus practically selling himself morally to the faction which controls the government at the moment of the election.

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It is now very difficult for even a Republican, though he be rich, to successfully contest a seat when his candidature is not countenanced by the Minister of the Interior. Ten years ago this was not so true as it is to-day, and even at present perhaps I ought to make an exception in favor of the great cities. A mugwump of this sort has against him not only the anti-Republican voters but even the official Republican world, beginning with the Minister of the Interior, the Prefect, and the whole hierarchy of the officials of the Department, even down to the rural constable or *garde champêtre*. Nor can he expect any aid from the secret service fund. He is safe to be given the cold shoulder by scores of Republican voters who know that if he should be elected they would not have in him "a friend at court," because he would not belong to the government *coterie*. So all those voters who have favors to ask of the government—and the amount of patronage dispersed in France is as large as it is varied—are not inclined to support a candidate who, if elected, will not be able to secure post-office clerkships, tobacco shops, or appointments in the *gendarmerie* for devoted constituents. So these shrewd place-hunters, who may be counted by the hundreds in every district, work tooth and nail for the government candidate by opposing tooth and nail the rival Republican.

This dwarfing influence of the central government is probably the principal reason why a general election is such a tame affair in France when compared with a Presidential campaign in America. Stump speaking on a large scale may be said to be almost unknown. There are no immense mass meetings, no body of able orators hurrying from town to town and addressing large gatherings of men and women, no torch-light processions, little if any "campaign literature." With the exception of the candidates themselves, scarcely a man of prominence opens his mouth on any public rostrum; and these candidates rarely speak outside of their own district. This paucity of public discussion is strikingly shown by the absence in France of halls capable of containing great popular gatherings. Even Paris is without its Cooper Institute, and you would search all France in vain for a Madison Square Garden. Political meetings, such as they are, generally take place in a public school building, in a stuffy dancing hall, in a café, or even in a circus. During the exhibition of 1889 one of the most important general elections which had occurred in

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France since that of the autumn of 1877 was in progress. Then it was that Boulanger and Boulangerism were shelved. But this critical contest caused so slight a ripple on the surface that probably not a score of the hundreds of Americans who then visited Paris were aware of the fact that the allied enemies of the republic were then engaged in their last desperate effort to produce a revolution.

Now a final word about the *modus operandi* of the act of voting. Here Americans can find much to admire, and here may be discovered features which we might adopt with benefit.

Speaking broadly, it may be said that, on the whole, honesty is the policy. There is very little "repeating," no "blocks of five," no tissue ballots, scarcely any ballot-box stuffing, no crooked "returning boards." In most cases citizens vote legally and their ballots are counted honestly. Of course I do not mean to say that there are no abuses. A five minutes' talk with any deputy will convince you that the French electorate is not immaculate. But, taking humanity as it is, and considering the difficulties in the way of a "fair count" where universal suffrage is practised, my observations, extending over ten or fifteen years, prove that the act of "taking the sense of the masses" is nowhere practised more purely than in France.

A brief mention of a few of the causes which lead up to this excellent result, and some description of one or two of the best features of the system, may not prove uninteresting.

The two chief safeguards against cheating at the French ballot-box are the poll list and the electoral card.

In order to have your name put on the poll list you must prove beyond doubt your identity and your majority. Here deception is difficult, impossible even, on account of the perfect *état civil* methods which prevail all over France. Every birth is carefully registered by trained officials, and when a male citizen reaches the age of 21 he must produce a properly attested "act of birth," which establishes his identity and age, before the mayor will place the new voter's name on the poll list.

This carefully drawn up poll list is not the only check on fraudulent voting. Every man, as he steps up to the ballot-box, must produce his "electoral card," on which are inscribed his full name, profession and residence. This card is issued by the mayor of the town where the voter lives, after the latter has es-

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tablished, as just explained, his identity and majority. Each electoral card is numbered, and when it is presented at the polls, the judge of elections takes it, and calls off the number and name, while two other judges, with the official poll list before them, repeat aloud the number and name and check them off on the register. Then, and not till then, the first judge accepts the ballot from the voter and drops it into the box; and before handing back the card he tears off a corner of it, which renders it useless for further voting that day. These bits of card are strung on a wire and are counted, at the close of the polls, in order to see if they tally with the number of ballots found in the box.*

The sentimental side of French character comes out strongly during election time. Universal suffrage is always personified in France; witness several examples of this in the foregoing article of my friend Naquet. The polling-booth is the town hall, a school-room, a church porch, or the mayor's private house; never a tavern, a bar-room, or a corner liquor-store. The judges sit with uncovered heads, without cigars in their mouth, and every voter removes his hat as he approaches the ballot-box. Thus at least one of the stock arguments against woman suffrage does not exist in France. There is a solemnity and stillness about the act of voting, especially in the smaller cities, which is almost oppressive.

The main reason for this good order at the polls and this minimum of fraud is unquestionably due to the severe way in which the French Criminal Code deals with election offences of every kind. For instance, M. Naquet once had a mayor, who had substituted a false set of ballots for the true ones, condemned to six months' imprisonment. Only a few weeks ago, in July, M. Daniel Wilson, son-in-law of the late President Grévy, was fined a thousand francs because he had engaged too many ticket distributors and had paid them twenty-five francs apiece for their

*An ex-Senator pointed out to me the other day an ingenious way in which "repeating" is accomplished in France in spite of, in fact by the aid of, the electoral card. "In the large cities where people are unacquainted with one another," said my distinguished interlocutor, "there is no hesitation in voting for the dead, bankrupts and the disqualified, whose names were left on the list at the last revision. Furthermore," continued my informant, "in many parts of France, especially in Corsica and the south, at Toulouse above all, material frauds are committed by substituting other ballots for those found in the boxes. There are a thousand tricks resorted to in order to produce results of this kind. It is only fair to say, however, that this abuse is practised in a general and important way only in very critical elections, such as those of 1887 and 1888. In such cases the opposition in order to win must have at least a quarter more than the majority. If the majority is less than that the returns are cooked in favor of the opposing candidate. When you see a government candidate elected by two or three majority, you may be perfectly sure that he has stolen his seat."

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work on election day. An election was once annulled because a candidate had given, a short time before the day of voting, six thousand francs for the restoration of the town hall. The would-be deputy lost both his seat and his money. On another occasion a result was declared null because a canal, in whose construction the candidate took a deep interest, was inaugurated a few days before the election on land that had not yet been bought, and before the contracts for the work had been signed. A similar ruling was observed by the courts in a case where a mayor announced on the eve of the ballot that an appropriation obtained by the efforts of the candidate was to be immediately spent in improving the roads of the township; and again, where a candidate promised, if he came in at the head of the poll, to give money to certain rifle and fire companies. Treating is even sufficient ground for rendering void an election if the aim and the effect were to influence the result.

The penalties inflicted on those guility of electoral misdemeanors are prompt and heavy. Causing disorder at the polls is a serious offence. Tampering with a ballot may entail imprisonment for a period of from one to five years, accompanied by a fine of from five hundred to five thousand francs. A like fine and imprisonment would be inflicted upon a person who, requested to write out a ballot for another party, should place on it other names than those indicated. Voting by means of false registration or by making use of the electoral card of another citizen is punished by six months' to two years' imprisonment and a fine of from two hundred to two thousand francs. "Repeating" calls down upon the offender a similar condemnation. The person who receives or offers a bribe may spend from three months to two years in prison, and suffer a loss of from five hundred to five thousand francs in money. When it is remembered that "Jersey justice" is meted out in France, the efficacy of such sentences in checking fraud at the polls will be fully realized.

THEODORE STANTON.

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PARAMOUNT QUESTIONS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

BY THE HON. SYLVESTER PENNOYER, GOVERNOR OF OREGON.

THE old adage that "man proposes, but God disposes" has had somewhat of an exemplification in the shaping of the issues most prominent in the present quadrennial Presidential campaign. Until lately the great body of the American people has been about equally divided between two great political parties, and it has been the wish and purpose of the leaders of both of these parties that the tariff question should be the great question at issue during the pending canvass. Of course, from one point of view, the desire was most natural. The leading statesmen on both sides had stock in trade already furnished which would save further trouble in the preparation of speeches for the stump. On the one side they had facts, figures, and arguments to conclusively prove that a protective tariff ultimately resulted in lower prices for everything except wool. On the other side they had as conclusive facts, figures, and arguments to prove that a protective tariff raised the price of everything on which it was placed except wool, which would bear a better price if the tariff on it was removed. The discussion as marked out by the "defenders of home industry" and the "tariff reformers" all gravitated around the great American sheep, which animal has in reality been the fruitful theme of more argument in Congress and out of Congress than all the other animals let out of Noah's ark combined, a fact which somewhat justifies the profane imprecation said to have been visited upon its innocent head by the distinguished John Randolph, of Roanoke.

About nine months ago the Pacific slope was visited by a peregrinating band of Democratic statesmen, including one United States Senator and two prominent members of the lower House of Congress, who, after the fashion of the early Apostles, went forth into the wilderness to enlighten the heathen, but who, unlike them, did not preach any new gospel. No man of ordinary com-

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mon sense will for one moment assert that there are no evils connected with the administration of the federal government except those connected with the tariff, and yet the tariff was the sole burden of the theme of these wandering minstrels. It was all tariff, from Spokane to San Francisco, and the whole concert was on harps, all the strings of which were of wool.

To any one who will for one moment sit down and calmly reflect, there is furnished by the grave discussions on the tariff, which have almost exclusively engaged the attention of statesmen in Congress and of the press and rostrum outside of Congress, a fruitful theme for both satire and sarcasm. What prodigious volumes of speeches have been made as to the mode and manner of tariff taxation, as to what articles should be taxed and what articles should not be taxed, and as to the degree of taxation that each and every article so taxed should bear, while there have never been, as there ought to have been, any speeches made against the system itself. When we remember that it was opposition to the navigation laws of Great Britain, which were protective tariff laws compelling the people of the colonies to buy their manufactured articles within the British dominions, that caused our free-trading forefathers to rebel; and when we remember that the first tariff law was enacted because "direct taxes are not so easily laid on the scantily settled inhabitants of our wide-extended country;" and that it was the purpose of our early statesmen "when we are out of debt to leave our trade free," as stated by Benjamin Franklin in a letter written in 1788; and when we further remember that taxation by tariff is a most unjust system, being to a certain degree a *per capita* tax through which the poor are compelled to bear an undue proportion of the government burden; and that the statesmen of neither party have had the courage to denounce the system itself as a whole, but have vented their righteous indignation against its trifling details,—the striking denunciation furnished by Holy Writ happily comes to our relief in the portrayal of such statesmanship, "Ye blind guides which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel."

It was not until a new party entered the political arena, unshackled by the restrictions of former associations and impelled by the inspirations of freedom gathered from the traditions of our revolutionary ancestry, that the warfare on revenue taxation began to become one of principle instead of one of percentage.

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The People's party boldly declares for "an income tax." It plants itself upon that impregnable doctrine that the revenues of the government should be raised from the wealth of the nation and not from its industries. There is presented a demand involving a grave principle and founded upon the plainest precepts of right and justice. It was during the reign of Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome, that the just change was made from a *per capita* tax to one placed upon individuals according to the measure of wealth. This one act stamped him as a ruler of superior political abilities and as a just and enlightened patriot, and entitled him to the lasting gratitude of the Roman people.

It is to the eternal disgrace of the federal government that while its tariff taxation falls with grievous weight upon the laboring classes, there is no tax whatever upon the wealth of the country. This is probably the only civilized country in all Christendom that thus relieves wealth from sharing the burden of taxation. In our State governments wealth is taxed and the sound theory prevails that a citizen should pay in proportion to the property he owns, but the taxation by the federal government is by impost duty upon articles of general use and consumption, and hence a poor laborer who supports a large family by the labor of his hands, is in reality taxed much more for the support of the government than his rich neighbor worth a million of dollars who is without family. The injustice of such a system of taxation is apparent. A change, however, will soon come.

The great wrong, committed now for long years, of imposing additional taxation upon the labor and industries of the country while wealth is entirely exempted must and will be shortly remedied. Justice demands a change of policy, and as surely as God reigns, so surely will it come. Let wealth be compelled, as it ought, to bear its full share of the public burden, and then an opportunity will be afforded to relieve the labor and industries of our people from the excessive charges imposed upon them by removing all taxation entirely from everything that the laboring classes of the country eat, drink, and wear. The removal of burdensome restrictions upon commerce and the heavy incubus from oppressed industry by limiting tariff taxation to the luxurious alone, would open up before us the brightest page of our country's history.

But important as this question of revenue taxation really is,

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there is one other question of far greater importance to the people. The refusal of Congress to coin silver equally with gold, and the adoption of the policy of purchasing by the government a stated quantity of silver bullion, which is stored up as such, and upon which is issued a bastard currency not a legal tender to Shylock, have pushed the question of free coinage ahead of the question of revenue taxation. What is the real issue as to free coinage, which was the settled and well-established policy of the government for more than eighty years from its foundation, and the wisdom of which was never questioned until the great octopus of the national banks surreptitiously procured a change? There is no citizen of this republic that disputes the necessity of paper currency. The necessity for it among all civilized nations is undisputed and indisputable. There is not enough of the precious metal to meet the stern requirements of commercial intercourse, and hence all nations require a paper currency. Conceded that a certain amount of money, gold, silver, and paper, is demanded by the business necessities of a nation, and it then follows that the greater the volume of metal currency the less will be the required amount of paper, and the smaller the amount of metal currency the greater the amount of paper.

If the banks could prevent the coinage of silver currency there would be a greater demand for bank paper, while if there were free coinage the demand for such paper would be diminished. The real opponents of the free coinage of silver are the national banks, and the real issue in regard to it under our present financial system is between metal currency and paper currency—between money issued by the government and money issued by the national banks—between the "solid silver dollar" and "bank rag-money." That is the real issue, and it cannot be gainsaid or denied, and upon that issue it is most difficult to understand how any Democrat in the whole land, in view of the past policy of the government and the traditions of his own party, can hesitate for one single moment as to the side upon which he should stand. Much has been said about there not being a dollar's worth of silver in the standard dollar. It passes at par and hence this assertion is unfounded. It is not alone the particular amount of metal that makes a dollar, for we all remember how some fifteen years ago the trade dollar of 420 grains, not receivable for duties, was at a discount of five and six per cent, while the standard

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dollar of 412½ grains although not clothed with the full attributes of money, but receivable for duties, is permanently maintained at par.

The one great issue, however, which transcends all others in importance, relates to the issuance of paper money. The most important questions, whether the government itself shall issue the required paper currency of the nation or delegate such issue to private corporations; whether it shall keep its own surplus, which in a great nation like ours must always amount to millions, in its own sub-treasuries or shall parcel it out among the national banks; and whether such governmental money shall be loaned by it direct to the people, at a low rate of interest upon undoubted security, or be divided among such banks, without interest, to be loaned by them to the people at high rates for their enrichment, will be the paramount issues of the forthcoming Presidential contest.

In this country, as a general rule, the people are braver than their parties and bolder than their leaders. These issues have been forced to the front by the people and not by parties or party leaders. The modern political leader is quite apt to be a moral coward. But it was not always so. These identical issues were once forced upon the people by the bravest leader in American history. Andrew Jackson alone began the warfare upon the old Bank of the United States, which did not cease until the fiscal policy of the government was entirely changed by an utter divorcement of the federal treasury from banking institutions and by the adoption of the sound policy of keeping the government funds in its own sub-treasuries.

It is perhaps not generally remembered that President Jackson not only dictated the policy above mentioned, which was adopted by Congress and indorsed by the people, but that he advocated a further policy which did not receive the support of Congress. In his first message to Congress after expressing his opposition to a renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States he said: "Under these circumstances, if such an institution is essential to the fiscal operations of the government, I submit to the wisdom of the legislature whether a national one, founded upon the credit of the government and its revenue, might not be devised that would avoid all constitutional difficulties and at the same time secure all the advantages to the government and country that were expected to result from the present bank."

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This stone which the builders then rejected will become the heads-tone of the corner of the financial policy of the nation.

And who can tell how vastly different and how much better might have been the condition of the country to-day if that wise suggestion of the Sage of the Hermitage had been adopted. The panics of 1837 and those which have followed might all have been avoided; the contraction and expansion of currency which have been instrumental in prostrating industries in times of peace and plenty, throwing honest labor out of employment and bankrupting hundreds of thousands of honest, industrious tradesmen and manufacturers, might have been prevented; and lastly, and more important than all, the monied oligarchy of the national banks which now controls the finances of the nation, and is virtually absorbing the wealth of the whole people, would never have had an existence. It will be demanded that the government itself shall issue all the currency of the country, that it shall keep it in its own treasury vaults, and that it shall be loaned by it to the people directly, and not through the national banks.

The great paramount issue, therefore, before the country in the pending political struggle is in regard to the character of the paper money to be furnished to the people. On the one side the People's party declares that all money shall be issued by the government direct, and shall be sound money or full legal-tender money. On the other side, the Chicago convention has virtually committed itself to the scheme, brought forth in the banking interests of the country, of restricting legal-tender money to gold alone, hampering the coinage of silver and providing for an unlimited issuance of bank money based upon railroad and municipal securities.

In our whole country's history there has never before been exhibited such a complete change of front upon an important issue by any political party as that furnished by the convention at Chicago. Ignoring the most sacred traditions of the party, and wheeling its well-drilled columns to the right-about-face, it places itself in alignment with the great banking interests of the country. It would not indeed require any great stretch of imagination to believe that the bones of Old Hickory turned uneasily in his grave when the party thus proved false to his teachings and false to its whole past record.

SYLVESTER PENNOYER.

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SAFEGUARDS AGAINST THE CHOLERA.

BY SURGEON-GENERAL WALTER WYMAN; PRESIDENT CHARLES G. WILSON, OF THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF HEALTH; DR. SAMUEL W. ABBOTT, SECRETARY BOARD OF HEALTH, BOSTON, MASS.; AND DR. CYRUS EDSON, SANITARY SUPERINTENDENT HEALTH DEPARTMENT, CITY OF NEW YORK.

SURGEON-GENERAL WYMAN:

CHOLERA is a greater respecter of persons than is yellow fever. "Yellow Jack" claims alike the aristocrat and the peasant for its victims, but the cholera seeks by natural choice denizens of unsanitary situations; in other words, it flourishes in filth. Those with clean environments and simple precautions looking to avoidance of close proximity or contact with infected persons or materials may feel reasonably assured of safety.

Cholera has been here before. The United States has experienced epidemics in 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1848, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1866, 1873 (brought by immigrants from Hamburg); our last relations with it being in 1887, when the "Alesia" and the "Britannia" discharged 22 cases at the New York quarantine, brought hither from Naples.

It will not be necessary to rehearse the history of these previous experiences except to say that they all originated in the cholera nests of Europe and Asia. Nor will it be necessary to enter into a history of the existence of cholera within the memory of man, and its marches from its habitat in India over the commercial world. The text of the present article limits my consideration to the safeguards which we are able to employ against cholera in general and this epidemic in particular.

The first safeguard against the introduction of cholera from without is to construct a sanitary cordon around our coasts and along our borders. The maritime quarantine of this country is at the present time in a condition of divided responsibility, which

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arises largely from the political relations of the States to the nation, the State assuming police powers within its borders, the enactment and enforcement of health laws, and the management of the establishments representing them. All of the Atlantic States (Georgia and Virginia excepted) have State Boards of Health, and in each of these States there is provision for local boards which exist under regulations usually rendering their action harmonious with that of the State Boards. The right of Congress to establish a controlling maritime national quarantine lies in its constitutional power to regulate commerce and enact laws for the public welfare. But this right at present lies dormant and the other theory is allowed to prevail, viz., that quarantine is a police function belonging to the State. This may be seen by perusal of the following act approved April 29, 1878 :

That no vessel or vehicle coming from any foreign port or country where any contagious or infectious disease may exist, and no vessel or vehicle conveying any person or persons, merchandise or animals, affected with any infectious or contagious disease, shall enter any port of the United States or pass the boundary line between the United States and any foreign country, contrary to the quarantine laws of any one of said United States, into or through the jurisdiction of which said vessel or vehicle may pass, or to which it is destined, or except in the manner and subject to the regulations to be prescribed as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 2. That whenever any infectious or contagious disease shall appear in any foreign port or country, and whenever any vessel shall leave any infected foreign port, or, having on board goods or passengers coming from any place or district infected with cholera or yellow fever, shall leave any foreign port, bound for any port in the United States, the consular officer, or other representative of the United States at or nearest such foreign port, shall immediately give information thereof to the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service, and shall report to him the name, the date of departure, and the port of destination of such vessel; and shall also make the same report to the health officer of the port of destination in the United States, and the consular officers of the United States shall make weekly reports to him of the sanitary condition of the ports at which they are respectively stationed; and the said Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service shall, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, be charged with the execution of the provisions of this act, and shall frame all needful rules and regulations for that purpose, which rules and regulations shall be subject to the approval of the President; but such rules and regulations shall not conflict with or impair any sanitary or quarantine laws or regulations of any State or municipal authorities now existing or which may hereafter be enacted.

SEC. 3. That it shall be the duty of the medical officers of the Marine-Hospital Service and of customs officers to aid in the enforcement of the national quarantine rules and regulations established under the preceding section.

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SEC. 5. That whenever, at any port of the United States, any State or municipal quarantine system may now or may hereafter exist, the officers or agents of such system shall, upon the application of the respective States or municipal authorities, be authorized and empowered to act as officers or agents of the national quarantine system, and shall be clothed with all the powers of United States officers for quarantine purposes, but shall receive no pay or emolument from the United States. At all other ports where, in the opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury, it shall be deemed necessary to establish quarantine, the medical officers or other agents of the Marine-Hospital Service shall perform such duties in the enforcement of the quarantine rules and regulations as may be assigned them by the Surgeon-General of that Service under this act: *Provided*, That there shall be no interference in any manner with any quarantine laws or regulations as they now exist or may hereafter be adopted under State laws.

A subsequent act to perfect this law in the matter of providing penalties for trespassing on the quarantine grounds of the United States was approved August 1, 1888.

An interstate quarantine law was approved March 28, 1890, to prevent the spread of contagious diseases from one State to another, but this act affords no ground for action in enforcing a maritime quarantine against foreign nations. Under act of Congress approved August 1, 1888, but in conformity with the law of 1878, the general government established eight National quarantine stations, as follows:

Cape Charles quarantine; Delaware Breakwater quarantine (this one established in 1884); South Atlantic quarantine at Blackbeard Island, Sapello Sound, Ga.; Gulf quarantine at Chandeleur Island, near Biloxi, Miss.; Key West quarantine at Dry Tortugas, Fla.; San Francisco quarantine; San Diego, Cal., quarantine; Port Townsend, Wash., quarantine; which are operated in such a manner as to supplement or aid the local quarantines. Where State or local regulations are insufficient the Surgeon General may make, under direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, additional rules which must not interfere with the local laws. The State and local boards of health are managed by sanitarians of special knowledge, whose methods keep in pace with the most advanced views of the sanitary world; but it must be obvious that a maritime quarantine dependent on the action of a dozen States must rest for its complete efficiency upon their united action. Such unity can only be obtained by mutual agreement, without legal constraint to enforce it, and can only be maintained so long as all consent. To relegate the national safety from epidemic

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diseases to the police powers of the States is, as Mr. Secretary Foster said in a recent address, "a relic of the doctrine of States' rights." A national maritime quarantine is the only logical safeguard against disease from without, and this topic, so fully discussed by the eminent sanitarian Dr. E. O. Shakespeare in his report upon "Cholera in India and Europe," is summed up in these words which I quote from his valuable work:

"Why then should the direction, expense, and responsibility of a system of common defence against the inroads of foreign disease, any more than against the invasion of foreign foes, be assumed and borne by those municipalities or States which happen to have a maritime location? Why should the vast majority, located inland, be allowed to shift their responsibilities and obligations or be denied a voice in the direction of affairs which so greatly concern them? The protection of the public health by maritime quarantine is a matter which interests not merely a narrow belt of coast; it seriously concerns the whole of the vast territory between our shores." (p. 846).

The law of 1878 was passed with special respect to the extreme views of the States' right doctrine then held with tenacity by many, and it was therefore a compromise measure carried through by the efforts of Senator Isham G. Harris, of Tennessee, Chairman of the Committee on Epidemic Diseases, in that body.

The question has been recently raised whether in exercising the power to aid local authorities the government has not the power to extend the stringency of these local health laws. The recent proclamation of the President directing a detention of twenty days for all vessels carrying emigrants, having brought doubt to the minds of some local health officers as to their responsibility thereunder, it may be answered by an example: Though the Health Officer of New York may legally require a much shorter detention, the health laws of New York (Sec. I. Chap. 358) *permit* the detention of vessels from infected localities "for at least twenty days after their cargo shall have been discharged," and it will be seen that the Executive order is not repugnant to laws of that commonwealth, but in direct line with it. It is gratifying to observe the public approval passed upon this quarantine circular ordered by the President, and to be informed of the concurring action of the principal sanitary authorities both in this country and Canada, whose aid in its enforcement must be had to render it more efficient.

This system of quarantine differs from the English plan, the situation of the two countries both as to topographical relations

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and their commercial interests determining the special provisions employed. England is a "tight little island," smaller than several of our single States, whose relations with the outer world are dependent on her commerce. The United States has a coast line covering several thousand miles, and two borders of equal length, and it is manifest that the same system could not well be applied to both.

England depends for the safety of her national health largely upon internal sanitation. But the value of a quarantine to a metropolis, particularly if characterized by unsanitary conditions, can not be denied. Quarantine is an indefinite term, and the condemnation thereof, resulting from its barbarous practice years ago, should not lead to a feeling of opposition to its modern and scientific usage.

The safeguards of local and personal sanitary prophylaxis as employed in England may be properly adopted as one of our aids in the prevention of cholera. I need not enter into the detail of such rules and regulations for local purification; they are read of all men in the current literature of the day. Neither will I expand on the idea of personal hygiene, which demands of the individual the same precautions as of the municipality, viz., cleanliness, attention to the habits of living, inspection of water supply, and simple character of food to insure a simply healthful mode of living in the presence of bodily danger. The use of recently boiled water, both for drinking and household purposes, is perhaps the most potent personal safeguard. Ice should not be placed in water that has been boiled for drinking purposes, but may surround the vessel containing it.

An eminent practitioner in England, almost universally known throughout the medical world for his remarkable success in a special line of operative surgery without the use of antiseptics, on being asked to explain his phenomenal record said: "I keep my finger nails clean." This homely phrase is an index to the cleanliness required as a personal safegard.

In the general consideration of the nature of cholera, it may be said, for the purpose of explaining the need of personal safeguards, that, in its method of propagation, it is similar to typhoid fever, with which our citizens are much more familiar. Typhoid fever is a disease entirely dependent for its continued existence on filth conditions, and as the public is fairly well educated upon

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the need of certain sanitary precautions in the management of typhoid fever, it may be said that the same cautionary rules apply with regard to cholera. The germ is found in the vomited matter and bowel discharges of cholera, and persons having immediate care of cases should remember that the safeguard is again and again scrupulous attention to the cleanliness of the hands, which are the vehicles of transporting the germ from the sick to the well.

One of the most important safeguards is the prompt publication of truthful reports of the appearance of the disease, to enable health authorities to act intelligently. This is a prime necessity. No public end is subserved by calling cholera "cholerine."

PRESENT SAFEGUARDS.

As early as July 8 the general government issued an order—by circular—forbidding the entry of vessels or merchandise likely to carry cholera from cholera-infected districts, unless they had undergone a process of disinfection specified in that order; and our consuls abroad were cabled to give the steamship companies information of this action.

On August 17 the general government directed that all personal effects and baggage of immigrants from the districts infected with cholera should be disinfected abroad at ports of departure, and required as evidence of compliance with this order a certificate from the consular officer. This was to take effect September 18, the intervening time being allowed to enable the steamship companies to prepare the disinfecting plants; but cholera having been declared epidemic in Hamburg, another order was issued August 24, providing that the personal effects and baggage of all emigrants from European and Asiatic ports should be disinfected before departure, this provision going into immediate effect except with regard to baggage afloat at date of the order.

August 19 it was ordered that rags from *all* foreign ports, whether free from infection or not, should bear consular certificate of disinfection abroad on and after September 20, and that rags from any *infected* district be absolutely prohibited on and after date of the order, exception being made of rags then afloat.

I have before alluded to the final move of the general government in providing safeguards which is to be found in the circular of September 1, approved by the President, requiring a twenty

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days' quarantine of all vessels carrying emigrants from any ports. The quarantine power of detention possessed by the States is thus used to practically suspend immigration. On the Canadian border medical inspectors, in addition to the regular customs and immigrant inspectors, have been appointed at the prominent railroad crossings, and lake and river ports, to inspect European immigrants and enforce the provisions of the above mentioned treasury circulars and the regulations of the local health authorities.

The method of handling infected vessels, as conducted by the national and State health authorities, is the selection of isolated points where hospital and detention barracks are set up, manned by commanding officers who have under their control such numbers of assistants as are required by the work to be done. At some of the national quarantines placed by law under the control of the Marine-Hospital Service, there are specially constructed vessels, as part of the equipments of these stations called disinfecting steamers, carrying apparatus for introducing sulphur fumes, steam, and mercuric bichloride solutions into the infected vessel while lying alongside. At these points also there is room for the erection of temporary camps for the deportation of immigrants for detention, and for the treatment of the sick while the vessels and baggage of the passengers are being disinfected. In the disease under consideration the sulphur disinfection, which is effective in yellow fever, is inadequate, and it is necessary to rely on the use of pure steam unmixed with air at 100° C. (212 Fahr.) for clothing and baggage to destroy the vitality of the comma bacillus of cholera. I need not enter into the technical detail of the process other than to say that it should be conducted in closed iron chambers or tanks with the pieces of clothing separately spread out on racks to insure complete penetration of the articles during the space of half an hour.

FUTURE SAFEGUARDS.

Among the required safeguards of the future, for this scourge will always be an impending one for this country as long as our commerce with the sources of supply are so uninterrupted, will be, in addition to the establishment of a national maritime quarantine, as above outlined:

First, Cremation of the bodies of the victims who may die on our shores of cholera, as there will always be the danger from

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ground infection for an indefinite time after the inhumation of such bodies.

Second, Enactment of laws to suspend immigration under conditions like the present.

Third, Regulation of Mohammedan pilgrimages. There can be no doubt that the Mohammedan religion is largely responsible for the spread of cholera throughout the nations of Christendom. The annual pilgrimages to Mecca required of the devotees of that faith are to a great extent transported along the Red Sea and Suez Canal towards Mecca in the vessels of Christian nations who engage in that traffic year after year during the pilgrimage months, and thence pursue their commercial avocation as ocean tramps, with their infected hulks and crews, along the Mediterranean and European ports. In another place I have officially described the unspeakable horrors of these pilgrimages. The mortality of these trailing masses of humanity on their way to and from the shrines has been known to be as high as 600 daily. It is a question which interests Christendom whether there should not be an international agreement to prohibit the vessels of Christian nations from engaging in this traffic. And it is a matter for international consideration whether some steps should not be taken to compel a cessation of disease-spreading pilgrimages.

Should the disease gain an entrance to this country nevertheless, on account of the timely warning and general municipal and domestic cleaning that has followed and because of the more perfect sanitary organizations of the present day, it is believed that it can be kept within narrow limits. It is not indigenous here. The conditions have never been favorable to it, and probably never will be.

It cannot be said that persons are frightened into the cholera, but it may be said that too great anxiety will engender such conditions of the system as make it an easy prey should the opportunity occur for the infection of the person. In the face of an epidemic it has been aptly remarked by some one that, while presence of mind is a good thing, absence of body is better; and to those who can with convenience leave an infected locality for the suburbs, this course will not only prove a personal safeguard, but will render more safe the condition of those who remain.

The history of all our epidemics of late years starts with an imported source of infection, and is an argument for the enactment

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of more clearly-defined laws to furnish us with the means of protection against diseases which are the unhappy concomitants of foreign famine and oppression.

WALTER WYMAN.

PRESIDENT CHARLES G. WILSON:

PERHAPS the best sentence with which I can begin this article is this: The Health Department of the city of New York is thoroughly ready to deal with cholera, should it break out among us.

Every preparation has been made, every arrangement perfected, every man instructed in his work. From myself, as President of the Board of Health, to the messengers who will carry orders or information, every one is ready to fight the pest, should that fight be rendered necessary. It was Herbert Spencer, I think, who defined government as an organized protection afforded by one community to itself as against another, and to each individual against another. To this he might have added that government is an organized protection to the individual against himself. The Health Department of New York is at the present moment, high noon on this fifth of September, 1892, ready to protect the men, the women, and the children committed to its care. Nor is there one man or woman connected with it that does not feel the responsibility, that is not willing to devote the best brain and knowledge he or she possesses, to the service; that, should it be necessary, is not ready to lay down life itself in obedience to duty, as has been done before by those employed in the Health Department. All that science can do, has been done in the way of preparation for the work should the pest come; all that science can suggest to lessen the evil effects of the pest, should it break out, is either finished or now in course of completion.

Let me define the duties of the Board of Health. The work of keeping the disease out of the city lies within the province of the Health Officer of the Port, who, although *ex officio* a member of the Board of Health, is in this regard an independent official. Fortunately for all of us, the news service of the present day is so perfect that we had ample warning. Step by step from its origin in Meshed, Persia, among the pilgrims who gathered about the tomb of the Mohammedan saint, Riza, the eighth of the twelve Imams; along its line of march through Russia, until it reached

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Hamburg, we noticed the progress of the disease. It spread to France and England, and we knew it would be but a short time before it reached the shores of America. As the majority of immigrants come to New York, there was the greater danger at this port. Fortunately for the people, they had Dr. W. T. Jenkins on guard as Health Officer, and splendid indeed has been his work. Every precaution had been taken long before the first of the pest ships, the "Moravia," arrived. When she came, the vigilance of Dr. Jenkins stopped her, just as it has stopped all other vessels that have come in carrying the deadly germs.

But should the germs pass the guard established by Dr. Jenkins, or should they find their way into the city through another channel, then we are ready for them.

When the number of deaths from the so-called cholerine in Hamburg made it apparent that this new disease was as fatal as cholera, the Board of Health met. Commissioner James J. Martin, the President of the Police Department, promised any coöperation of the police we might wish. Dr. Jenkins spoke of the precautions he meant to take. Dr. Bryant, as Health Commissioner, described the sanitary precautions necessary. Dr. Cyrus Edson, the Sanitary Superintendent, was called into consultation, and the experience of Dr. Janes, the Assistant Sanitary Superintendent, gathered during the last epidemic of cholera in this city, was laid before us. The plan of campaign, if I may so express myself, was mapped out with care and as rapidly as possible.

In one respect we were fortunate in having cholera to handle. Cholera being a disease, the germs of which must be actually taken into the mouth, we had certain well-defined channels to guard. Had the disease been one of those which can travel through the air, the work before us would have been much more complex. The first step was to look to the water supply. A consultation was held with Mayor Grant, Comptroller Myers, Commissioner Gilroy, and President Barker, of the Tax Department; three of them being members of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. To these gentlemen I explained what we wished done. As the result of this, the necessary inspection of the Croton watershed was made, and Mr. Gilroy issued orders to the various officials connected with the Water Bureau, calling on them for the utmost care.

The Mayor communicated with the heads of all departments,

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asking them to constitute their employees sanitary inspectors *pro tem.* He requested the Street Cleaning Department to look to the streets, with the result that orders were given to clean the streets in a most thorough manner, and these orders were obeyed.

I directed Dr. Edson, the Sanitary Superintendent, to give orders to the inspectors of food to be especially vigilant. To give some idea of the resulting vigilance, I may say that to date 687,848 pounds of meat, fruit, vegetables, and milk, dangerous to health, have been destroyed. This vigilance will be continued.

The appropriation for the summer corps of physicians having been exhausted, an application was made to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment for more money. This was granted without a negative vote, and it gave us fifty physicians, each one of whom had been tried either during the typhus fever outbreak or the small-pox season. These, added to the twenty medical inspectors under the control of the Chief Inspector of Contagious Diseases, Dr. Charles F. Roberts, gives us a body of thoroughly tried men.

But since the time when it seemed that cholera might come to us, many offers of service have been received from physicians and nurses. For the most part these have offered to serve without pay, should there be occasion for them. To them I am glad to offer the thanks of the Board of Health and of the public I may claim to represent, for their devotion.

The offer of the St. John's Guild must not be forgotten. Through Mr. John P. Faure, the Secretary, the Guild offered the Department its Floating Hospital. This is a barge especially fitted up for use as a hospital, and as it is the only thing of the kind in the harbor, the offer was one we were more than glad to accept. In the event that cholera should break out here, this floating hospital would enable us to isolate the victims in the most perfect manner, and to look after them under the very best conditions. By its aid we hope to have a low death rate in the event of the pest coming to us.

It became a part of my duty as the President of the Health Board to issue certain circulars. Although these were signed by me and by the Secretary, General Emmons Clark, it must be understood they were originated for the most part by Dr. Bryant, the Medical Commissioner of the Board.

The first published contained directions to the Sanitary Inspectors. It ordered the closing of old wells,—which might,

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through seepage, be contaminated from the sewers,—the cleaning and disinfection of old vaults, school sinks and closets, depressed gutters and gutter covers, depressed yards, areas and sidewalks. It ordered all tenements and rookeries to be cleaned, disinfected, whitewashed and overhauled; yard hydrants, defective water pipes, roof leaders and sinks to be put in thorough repair; roofs—especially of tenement houses—to be cleaned and repaired, and covers to be provided for all roof tanks.

It may be well to explain the object of these orders. They struck at the breeding places of the allies of cholera, as well as of cholera itself. We desired to destroy all collections of matter which would supply the germs of other zymotic diseases, and, in the case of the roof tanks, to protect them in such a way that cholera germs could by no means enter them and thus poison the water they contained. These orders gave much work to the Sanitary Inspectors.

I then issued an order to Dr. Cyrus Edson, the Sanitary Superintendent, directing him to divide the tenement house portion of the city into cholera districts. Each of these was to be from one block upwards in size, according to the extent, severity, and location of the disease. To each he was to assign one or more physicians, either voluntary or otherwise, and one or more nurses. The inspectors were to make house-to-house visits, hunting up all persons afflicted with intestinal disease. They were to prescribe at once for all persons so afflicted, and to give sanitary directions as to food, drink, and care of the sick. All cases were to be reported at once. Extreme care in the examination of those exposed to infection was to be shown. The nurses were to be divided into relays, to attend to the food, ventilation and drink for the sick; to see that cleanliness was observed. All prescriptions made out by inspectors were to be kept on file by those making them up. Each district was to have one or two disinfectors, abundantly supplied with disinfectants from some central station. Houses in which cholera made its appearance were to be scrubbed everywhere with the bichloride solution, and all waste pipes and sinks were to be flushed with it. All rooms were to be fumigated, and all clothing or bedding was to be boiled in the solution or destroyed. Precautions were to be taken to watch symptoms, and every case of a suspicious nature was to be isolated at once. The Registrar of Vital Statistics was to notify the Inspector at once of any death

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in his particular district. The most extreme cleanliness was to be insisted on, as well as the absolute isolation of all cases of disease and all persons exposed to it. All this machinery can now be put into operation within ten minutes after the report reaches the Department of the first case of cholera.

Under my orders, Dr. Roberts, the Chief Inspector of Contagious Diseases, issued a circular to the inspectors or other physicians having charge of cholera cases, giving them the most minute instructions as to the treatment and care necessary. These instructions are too purely medical in character to make them of interest here. Suffice it to say that they were compiled from the latest and best reports of treatment, and are as perfect as modern medical science can make them.

A circular issued September 1 to superintendents of ferries, railroads, manufactories, etc., is, however, of general interest to all, and this I think it wise to include in this article. It is:

Should cholera appear in this city, a temporary place for isolation and detention should be provided in ferry-houses, railroad depots, factories, etc., for such as may be taken ill thereat, or while riding on ferry-boats or railroads (street or steam), within this city. This room should be easily reached, and have a water-tight floor. Persons suffering from vomiting or purging should be placed in the room at once and the Health Board immediately notified. In it should be placed a barrel of disinfecting fluid (corrosive sublimate, 1 part to 500 parts of water), which fluid should be freely poured on all suspected cholera discharges (vomit and diarrhœal) before their removal (which should immediately follow disinfection) in a proper receptacle to a place of safety. When thoroughly saturated with the disinfecting fluid, the discharges may be thrown into the river or sewer.

All surfaces soiled with cholera discharges should be thoroughly scrubbed with the disinfectants, care being taken to permit none of the discharge to pass into cracks in the floor, or through them to the surface beneath.

The water-closets and urinals should be kept constantly and thoroughly cleansed and disinfected.

The floors of ferry-boats, ferry-houses, railroad cars and depots should be scrubbed daily after thorough disinfection. They should not be swept until after thorough sprinkling with the disinfecting solution; and the sweepings should be disinfected again before being thrown into the sewer or river.

The above regulations are issued for the government of railroads, ferries, factories, etc., in this city only, as regulations will doubtless be issued upon this subject by the State Board of Health and by the Health Boards of other cities.

Two other circulars are worthy of reprinting. The first reads:

Healthy persons "catch" cholera by taking into their systems through the mouth, as in their food or drink, or from their hands, knives, forks,

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plates, tumblers, clothing, etc., the germs of the disease, which are always present in the discharges from the stomach and bowels of those sick with cholera.

Thorough cooking destroys the cholera germs, therefore:

DON'T eat raw, uncooked articles of any kind, not even milk.

DON'T eat or drink to excess. Use plain, wholesome, digestible food, as indigestion and diarrhœa favor an attack of cholera.

DON'T drink unboiled water.

DON'T eat or drink articles unless they have been thoroughly and recently cooked or boiled, and the more recent the cooking, and the hotter they are, the safer.

DON'T employ utensils in eating or drinking unless they have been recently put in boiling water, the more recently, the safer.

DON'T eat or handle food or drink with unwashed hands, or receive it from the unwashed hands of others.

DON'T use the hands for any purpose when soiled with cholera discharges; thoroughly cleanse them at once.

Personal cleanliness, and cleanliness of the sleeping rooms and their contents, and thorough ventilation should be rigidly enforced. Foul water-closets, sinks, Croton faucets, cellars, etc., should be avoided, and when present should be referred to the Health Board at once and remedied.

The successful treatment and the prevention of the spread of this disease demand that its earliest manifestations be promptly recognized and treated. Therefore:

DON'T doctor yourself for bowel complaint, but *get to bed* and send for the nearest physician *at once*. Send for your family physician; send to a dispensary or hospital; send to the Health Department; send to the nearest police station, for medical aid.

DON'T wait, but *send* at once. If taken ill in the street, seek the nearest drug store, dispensary, hospital or police station, and demand prompt medical attention.

DON'T permit vomit or diarrhoeal discharges to come in contact with food, drink or clothing. These discharges should be received in proper vessels, and kept covered until removed under competent directions. Pour boiling water on them, put a strong solution of carbolic acid in them—not less than one part of acid to twenty of hot soapsuds or water.

DON'T wear, handle or use any articles of clothing or furniture that are soiled with cholera discharges. Pour boiling water on them, or put them into it, and scrub them with carbolic acid solution mentioned above, and promptly request the Health Board to remove them.

DON'T be frightened, but do be cautious, and avoid excesses or unnecessary exposure of every kind.

The second circular gives directions, which, if followed by housekeepers, janitors, and all those having control of houses or flats, will lessen the chance of disease. It reads as follows:

All water-closets should be thoroughly flushed and cleaned immediately after being used, and no filth should be allowed to remain in or adhere to the bowl.

School sinks should be thoroughly flushed and the contents run off every morning before 7 o'clock. At the same time all filth should be re-

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moved from the sides and bottom of the sinks, and they should be disinfected. The privy houses should be frequently cleaned and disinfected.

Special attention should be given to the flushing and disinfection of urinals.

I have written to little purpose if I have not made plain the earnestness with which the Board of Health of the city of New York has attacked the problem. No one but a man, who like myself has watched the work of the men connected with the Board, working with them day after day, can know the thought which has been given to the subject or can understand the over-mastering responsibility which has made itself felt so painfully. The people of New York should be proud of this service and devotion given to them without hesitation or question. If the pest comes, and if the preparations, the thought, the work will keep the death rate down, and will prevent such stories being told of New York as have come to us from Hamburg, then will we of the Board of Health count our anxiety as having been light indeed, and our duty as done.

CHARLES G. WILSON.

DR. SAMUEL W. ABBOTT:

FIRST; as to our knowledge of the natural history and general character of the disease.

In the U. S. government report upon the cholera epidemic of 1873 the following proposition is stated:

"Malignant cholera is caused by the access of a specific organic poison to the alimentary canal, which poison is *developed spontaneously* only in certain parts of India."

Still later the "Encyclopædia Britannica," 9th Ed., 1878, article Cholera, states as a cardinal principle, that "Cholera is *originally generated* in certain parts of India."

In the light of later researches it may be reasonably questioned how and why cholera should obey different natural laws in different countries. The commissions of 1883 and 1884 of the English, French and German governments, and especially of the latter government, showed beyond question that cholera is infectious, communicable, and in a very marked degree preventible. Its infectious nature had been tardily acknowledged during the few previous decades, but the exhaustive researches of Koch in Egypt and India in 1884 settled many doubtful points.

The life history of the cholera germ is not fully understood as yet, but the probable explanation of its endemicity, or habitual

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occurrences in India, lies not in any theory of spontaneous generation, but in the fact that the climatic and meteorological conditions of that country offer the favorable conditions for its continuous preservation or growth outside the human body.

With reference to the direct cause of cholera, strictly speaking, filth does not cause it; overcrowding does not cause it; unripe or unsound food fruit does not cause it; insufficient food does not cause it; intoxicating drinks do not cause it.

Sunlight, moisture, heat, good soil and abundance of fertilizers, will not produce a harvest till the seed has been sown; since these are merely the favoring conditions of healthy growth, but not the prime cause, which exists in the seed itself sown broadcast upon the proper soil. Similar laws apply to the development and spread of the so-called filth-diseases. Filth, and especially filthy water, while it is not the cause of the disease, yet offers a favorable soil for the propagation of cholera when the cholera germ is once planted in it. Unripe fruit and indigestible food afford a favorable soil or condition, since cholera thrives in the presence of those conditions of the system which are produced by unripe fruit and bad food.

Overcrowding favors the growth of cholera, since density of population increases the liability to the spread of all infectious diseases without exception. Any one of a hundred people living upon an acre of land is far more likely both to contract and to communicate an infectious disease than any one of a similar hundred living upon a square mile, under conditions of equable distribution. Dr. Farr found that the mortality rate of the English people increased parallel with the density of the population, or, more exactly, as follows:

In districts where the density of population was 86 to the square mile the annual mortality rate was from 14 to 16 per 1,000 of the living population.

In districts where the density was 172, the mortality rate was 17 to 19.

In districts where the density was 255, the mortality rate was 20 to 22.

In districts where the density was 1,130, the mortality rate was 23 to 25.

In districts where the density was 3,400, the mortality rate was 26 and upwards.

The inebriate offers a favorable soil for the cultivation of cholera, since alcohol is a well-known poison, and produces the weakened physical condition which is favorable to the reception and growth of the infectious principle of the disease.

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So far as its mode of propagation is concerned, cholera is *like* typhoid fever, in that the infectious principle or bacillus exists in, and is transmissible by, the discharges or excreta of the sick. It is *unlike* typhoid fever, since its onset is far more rapid, and its capacity for excessive multiplication far greater. In illustration of this point, cholera appeared at Quebec in 1832 in the person of an Irish emigrant who was taken ill June 8. Ten days later (June 18) there had been 2,516 cases, and 437 deaths from cholera in that city. The experience of Hamburg in the present season is of the same character.

PROGRESS IN PREVENTIVE MEASURES.—The following may be stated as essential means for the sanitary arrangement and control of cholera :

1. Absolute cleanliness, municipal, household and individual.
2. A faultless condition of the domestic supplies of food, water and ice.
3. Early diagnosis of the disease.
4. Isolation of the sick.
5. Disinfection.

All of the foregoing principles have been recognized for the past thirty years or more with the exception of that of disinfection, which has in recent years assumed increasing prominence. The necessity of an absolutely pure water-supply as an essential factor in the prevention of cholera and typhoid fever has also received a greater share of attention since the peculiar mode of transmission of these diseases has become recognized.

The earlier instructions relative to disinfection were vague and deficient in the support of actual experimental proofs of its value. Charcoal and sulphate of iron were both recommended previous to 1880 as "destructive disinfectants," the former having no such power and the latter only in a limited degree. (U. S. Report, 1873, p. 69.) After experimental inquiry had been inaugurated to determine the value of disinfectants, sulphurous acid fumes came into general use in connection with all infectious diseases "dangerous to public health" for the disinfection of apartments which had been occupied by the sick, while corrosive sublimate in solution was advised for disinfecting the excreta of the sick, and the clothing and utensils worn and used by them.

The difficulty in applying sulphurous acid, its liability to abuse, and the possibility of inefficient destructive action upon

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living germs under ordinary conditions, have led to a considerable degree of distrust as to its efficiency; and the extremely poisonous nature of corrosive sublimate, together with an uncertainty as to its action in the presence of certain organic compounds, and its corrosive action upon plumbing fixtures, have caused serious apprehension in regard to its general use as a disinfectant. Of the efficiency of prolonged high temperatures, either by steaming, boiling, or baking, as well as of destruction by fire, there is no question.

One of the best modern circulars upon disinfection for cholera is that which was issued by the German government, bearing date of July 28, 1892, at Berlin. Its concise and practical character should lead to its general adoption. Hence I take the liberty to quote that portion which relates to the substances to be employed:

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF DISINFECTION IN CHOLERA.

THE MEANS TO BE EMPLOYED.

1. *Milk of Lime.* (Quick lime slaked by water, as in the preparation of ordinary white-wash.) Proportions: one quart of broken lime to one gallon of water gradually added.

2. *Chloride of lime* may be used either in powder or solution, the latter to be made by mixing two parts of chloride of lime with 100 parts of water.

For this purpose chloride of lime is only useful when fresh and evolving its well-known odor.

3. *Solution of Potash Soap.* Three parts of soap to be dissolved in 100 parts of hot water.

4. *Solution of Carbolic Acid.* To twenty parts of the soap-solution (3) while warm, add one part of carbolic acid and stir it in.

For the purer qualities of carbolic acid simple water may be used without the soap.

5. *Steam Apparatus.* Either apparatus may be used; that which is arranged for the direct application of steam at 212° F. (100° C.) or that for superheated steam.

6. *Boiling* the articles to be disinfected for half an hour, the boiling to be constant, and the articles to be well covered by the water.

Full instruction for the use of the foregoing disinfectants are also published in the circular. The objects being, first of all, the excreta of the sick, the hands and other exposed parts of the body, the bed-linen, underclothing, furniture, floors, walls of rooms, pavements, gutters, privies, and all objects liable to infection.

DISINFECTING STATIONS.—There is no question of a public sanitary nature in which the large cities of the United States are so far behind as in the adoption of public disinfection stations for the disinfection of all portable articles which require disinfection; that is to say, public buildings, or plants, not necessarily expen-

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sive, but fully equipped with all the appliances for disinfecting such household articles as may be brought to them for the purpose, such as bedding, mattresses, clothing, blankets, carpets and upholstery. The stations of this character which the writer visited last year in Berlin and Paris are models in every particular. The principal point in these stations worthy of mention is the absolute separation of all infected from disinfected material by means of an impervious wall running through the building.

In this wall the steam apparatus is placed. Two sets of employees, horses, carriages, implements, and apartments are in use, with no communication between them. One set is employed to collect the infected articles and convey them to the station, where they are placed in the disinfectant apparatus, and the door is closed ; after being disinfected they are taken out by another set of operatives by a door on the opposite end and carried back to the houses, which have also been disinfected.

Well-equipped stations of this character should be at once established in every city of the United States having a population of 50,000. These would constitute an efficient aid to the means already employed for combating not only cholera, but also all dangerous diseases of the infectious class.

SAMUEL W. ABBOTT.

DR. CYRUS EDSON:

THE cholera now knocking vainly, as we all hope, at the doors of this country, is rightly one of the most dreaded diseases known to mankind. Modern scientific research has merely confirmed the hereditary fear which came down to us from the dark ages. We can thoroughly appreciate and sympathize with the cry of the ancients when they called it the "Scourge of God." For if in the absence of the knowledge we have to-day of this disease we were forced to remain passive and watch thousands die around us, ignorant alike of the cause of their death, the prevention of other deaths and the treatment of the sick, we would be inclined to attribute to supernatural causes that which actually is part of the water we drink.

To-day cholera affords us a most striking instance of the fact that science has relegated superstition to the past. In the light of to-day we see clearly the following well-proven realities : 1st. Cholera is the result of introducing into our digestive systems the

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cholera bacillus. 2d. No person can have cholera unless that bacillus is so introduced. 3d. The bacillus reaches us mainly through the channels of drink and food. 4th. The bacillus infects these channels from the excretions of persons sick with the disease. 5th. The bacillus can be easily killed before or even after it reaches drink and food. 6th. When the bacillus is so killed there is absolutely no danger to the person swallowing it.

With these given facts before us we can fight cholera.

As to whether we shall have to make the fight I have nothing to say. The Health Officer of the port of New York is doing all that science, backed by intense earnestness and untiring work, can do to keep the germs out. He may succeed and the guardian of some other entrance fail. But if the germs do reach us, and the disease does break out, then as to the question, Can we successfully fight it and prevent an outbreak from becoming an epidemic? I have much to say.

The drinking water of a people is always the channel through which the greatest number of infections come.

It is the foul water-courses and tanks of India that make cholera endemic there. The Croton water which is supplied to the people of New York is reasonably pure. More than that, the Croton watershed is carefully watched, and is not exposed to contamination. More yet, if cholera were to break out among us the Croton watershed could be so watched and guarded as to make it almost impossible for the water to be contaminated by a cholera-infected person. Again, boiling the water will kill the bacilli, and owing to the almost universal habit of reading newspapers, I question whether enough men or women live in New York, ignorant of this simple precaution, to make an epidemic of cholera.

So far as other channels through which the germs might reach their victims are concerned, such as contamination of the hands from infected materials and subsequent contamination of food and the like, there are two things worthy of consideration: During the winter and spring of this year New York city was confronted with a sudden outbreak of typhus fever. This outbreak, still fresh in the public mind, was not only sudden, but the number of those suffering from the disease and those who had been exposed to it was unusually large. The outbreak had acquired a strong foothold among us. Notwithstanding this, the disease was grappled with, hemmed in, and finally stamped out.

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To a community in the temperate zone, with a water supply like Croton, typhus fever is far more dangerous than cholera. I am justified in saying that an outbreak of cholera could be more easily handled and stamped out than typhus actually was.

An epidemic of cholera cannot occur in a community protected by enforced health laws without accidental contamination of the water supply, while the contagion of typhus may be spread through the medium of the air we breathe. It follows, therefore, that as the medium of the one is air and of the other water and food, we have with cholera tangible things to handle.

The germs of cholera can be caught and destroyed almost to a certainty, while those of typhus are more rapidly disseminated. The latter have yet to be seen separated and artificially cultivated by man. Another fact is of great importance here. The germs or, perhaps better, the infective principles of typhus are projected from a person in the exhalations from the lungs and the body. The bacilli of cholera can only come from the bowels, or from the stomach when the sufferer vomits. It follows then that there must be an infinitely greater number of germs put forth by typhus than by cholera patients. More than that, while the management and disinfection or killing of the germs from a typhus patient is to the last degree difficult, because they are in the air of the room in which he is, those from a cholera patient can be easily handled and killed. As I have already said they are in the discharges either from the bowels or stomach, AND NOWHERE ELSE. They can be treated with disinfectants that kill them at once in the vessels into which they are received, or on the spot where they are accidentally or involuntarily discharged.

In view of the fact that the New York Health Department has had ample warning, that all its preparations have been made, that it stamped out an outbreak of typhus when no preparations had been made, that cholera is easier to handle than is typhus; I have no hesitation in saying that while we may have an outbreak of cholera if the various quarantines should prove ineffectual, that outbreak will not become an epidemic in New York city.

The Health Department of New York has fought many diseases and is not afraid of a fight with cholera should it come. I hope that we shall never have a chance to win that fight.

CYRUS EDSON, M. D.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE ETHICS OF GREAT STRIKES.

ALTHOUGH strikes are generally wasteful methods of gaining desired ends, the conclusion cannot be justified by the experience of labor organizations that they are always harmful in their results and influences. Organization and coöperation are the surest means by which labor can demand its rights, and strikes in a just cause should be simply the determined expression of organized resistance. The waste which is always involved in a strike is simply a law of human progress.

Labor organizations have accomplished great concessions for the workingmen, and strikes and lockouts, as a feature of them, must be credited with their due share of the victory.

Strikes in England and the United States present a long list of losses, and when the statistics are first presented the impression is gained that they do a tremendous amount of harm, and accomplish little or no good. The loss falls heaviest and most directly upon the laborers, but eventually the mill-owners and capitalists feel the result of a strike. Fifty years ago the term was hardly known in the English language, but during the last half century it has become loaded with a weight of meaning which must be heeded. So rapidly have strikes followed each other, and on such gigantic scales, that about one hundred million dollars have been lost in wages by the working population in the present decade, while destruction to property and mill-owners must aggregate much more than this sum.

In the great strike of 1852, in which the Amalgamated Engineers of England struck against overtime and piece-work, the loss of wages was tremendous, and the cost to the society during the three months of the strike amounted to over $200,000. In 1853-54 the spinners struck at Preston, England, and the loss of wages to the 20,000 laborers easily aggregated $15,000,000, while the union, it is estimated, lost actually in money over $3,000,000. In 1859 twenty-four thousand laborers in the building trade began a strike which lasted nearly a month, occasioning a loss of many hundreds of thousands of dollars. The Welsh colliers' strike in 1873 lasted nearly four months, and two years later 60,000 men in the same district remained out for about five months. The exact amount of loss through these strikes has never been fully estimated, but the waste must have been tremendous.

In 1877 there was a general movement among laboring men throughout the world to secure better pay and shorter hours, and the masons of London stopped all business in their line for nearly a year. Masons were obtained from Germany and Belgium, and the London strikers lost through wages nearly half a million dollars. The year 1878 was also famous for its large

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strikes, notably those of the spinners of Lancashire and the engineers of Liverpool and Birkenhead.

In the United States similarly large and momentous strikes have marked the history of labor organizations and unions. In 1877 the most violent and sanguinary strike was witnessed in this country, when the railway servants throughout a good part of the country struck to prevent a reduction in wages. The strike ended in riots, and it is estimated that $40,000,000 worth of property was destroyed, and many lives. The loss through the men's wages was on a proportionate scale. In 1882 the ironworkers in the United States conducted an extensive strike, which lasted for several months.

There is another loss brought on by strikes which is not always considered. It acts harmfully on the community, and sometimes a severe strike will drive a trade or industry completely from that part of the land. As notable instances of this, mention might be made of the shipbuilding trade at Dublin, the lace trade at Nottingham, and the silk trade at Macclesfield. Many of England's cotton manufactures have been forced to America, while it is well known that France and Belgium have stolen a good part of her machine-making works.

The loss falls upon three different classes. The common laborers and strikers feel it first, then the capitalists or mill-owners, and finally the community itself.

The success or failure of the strikes cannot be measured always by the actual results in dollars and cents. Neither is the accomplishment or failure of the purpose desired always the criterion by which to judge. The vast majority of the strikes have failed. A compromise or slight concession has been more often the chief thing acquired. The individual strikes have only helped to make up a solid wall of resistance to oppression, and in the aggregate they have wrought good.

But the seeds of the discontent were sown by the early English law when efforts were made to compel laborers to work. Soon after the great plague in England all labor was scarce and high. The government then, in the supposed interest of the industries, attempted to fix the wages of workmen, and imposed severe penalties upon those who demanded or received more. Subsequent legislation made every man or woman who had no property or visible means of support work at a fixed sum for any employer who desired his labor. The pillory and the method of cutting off the ears were the penalties imposed upon those who refused to labor for their masters. These selfish enactments bred a feeling of hatred among the laboring men against their employers, and every attempt to fix the rate of wages by the government signally failed. The workmen were forced to give more than a just equivalent for their wages. Efforts to secure higher wages, or fewer working hours per day, followed, and until 1825 these coöperative attempts were punished as conspiracies.

It was from such a beginning that strikes developed. By coöperation and strikes the laborers removed many of the difficulties in their way, and the true success of labor-unions and their accompanying strikes must be judged by a comparison between the condition of the laboring classes of to-day and that of one hundred years ago. The general trend of the labor movements has been so decidedly towards an improvement in the condition of the workmen that success rather than failure must be conceded to them in the aggregate. Strikes were necessary in the early days when arbitration was unknown. Arbitration is the civilized method of settling labor difficul-

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ties, but the public mind had to be educated up to it at first. Strikes were as justifiable in the days when labor was not protected by law as wars are when one nation oppresses a weaker one. They played their part in the great labor history of the world by preparing the reasoning mind for a better appreciation of the rights and wrongs existing between workmen and their employers.

If arbitration was the natural outcome of strikes, the day has nearly passed when the latter should be attempted. Where there is determined oppression and tyranny strikes will still be ordered. There is an ethical side to them, then, which makes them justifiable. It is a sure indication that labor has reached a higher standard than industry, and that it is necessary to return to semi-civilized methods to teach the latter the spirit of the age. But where strikes are ordered without giving arbitration the chance to settle the dispute then labor invites the condemnation of all upon the cause.

GEORGE ETHELBERT WALSH.

POLITICS AND THE WEATHER.

IT HAS been at times a consolation to me to reflect that the weather depended solely on the caprice of fortune, and not on the will of my fellow men. Perhaps some one may think that this is immaterial, and that it can make no difference whether an unpropitious sky is due to human agency or not. No difference indeed! It is the same difference that exists between a sick bed and a torture chamber. But, alas! man is trying to lay his sacrilegious hand on the clouds and wring water from them at his pleasure. But it is the social and political aspect of the subject that I wish to consider.

It is clear that private and so-called irresponsible persons could not be suffered to try experiments in rain making at their own sweet will. No man could be permitted to deluge his neighbor's washed clothes or discourage his young turkeys for the sake of refreshing his own lettuce beds. To allow every man with a can of dynamite to make rain whenever he wanted to would be absurd and unbearable. It is evident that the matter must be in the hands of the government, for, if not, the course of the weather might be seriously disturbed by differences of policy, or even by local jealousy. There would be nothing, for example, to prevent the Governor of New York from drenching New England on Fast Day because the delegates from Massachusetts had knifed him at the last Presidential convention.

No doubt it will be a good while before the officers in charge of the rain-making apparatus have acquired enough experience to produce satisfactory results; but this would be of more importance in some other countries than here, where new men are appointed to office every four years and the oil of consecration imparts an immediate capacity for office. No doubt also there will be a good deal of grumbling; because in matters that interest everybody it is impossible to please all the world, and some men are sure to talk about corrupt bargains and wicked jobs. But no such slanders will be generally credited; for if our system of political parties has the disadvantage of making half the people listen credulously to malicious tales about public men, it has at least the merit that the other half will never believe anything evil of their rulers. On the other hand, in a country mercifully free like ours from bureaucracy and red tape, the weather will not be regulated by rigid principles, but by elastic ones, so that it can be adapted to the varying wants of the people; that is, of the people in the scientific sense. I say scientific sense because the popular use of the word is entirely wrong and leads to great

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confusion. In the popular sense the word means the whole mass of citizens, but if the progress of democracy has proved anything, it has proved that an unorganized mass of men is almost as ineffective in political as in military matters. When, therefore, we use the word people in scientific discussion we mean the people as it is organized politically. If the reader has grasped the definition, I will repeat that the weather will be adapted to the varying wants of the people. When anyone wants rain he will apply for it through the regularly organized channels. He will go to his Congressman, if a member of the party in power, or to the local boss, or to a friend who has contributed largely to the campaign fund.

Oversensitive people may be shocked to think that the weather bureau will be affected by any such motives, but let such persons consider that if a man owes his office to influence, influence must inevitably control his administration of it. Moreover, people of this stamp have always bewailed every step in the march of progress.

At the dawn of history, when the only occupation of men in times of peace was the tilling of the soil, every man relied on his own skill for the supply of his humble wants. But, little by little, separate occupations began arise. A man gifted with a talent for reciting verses travelled round the country and got his living by singing about the brave old times before the world degenerated. This is the origin of the profession of poet, of composer, and of actor. Again, a man who was clever at working wood or stone or bronze was hired by other men; and hence the rise of artizans and the mechanic arts. The lawyer had a similar origin. In his case, indeed, we can see very clearly the steps in the process of development, because he was still supposed to act gratuitously long after the law became a regular profession; and even at the present day the barristers in England have no legal claim to fees for their services,—they alone among all classes in the community being expected to practise a virtue which is its own reward.

The division of labor and specialization of occupations are in reality the result of men's learning to exercise for hire their peculiar skill. The advance of civilization is, therefore, constantly attended with the formation of new occupations; and it is safe to say that there is no power or aptitude to be found in man that is not certain sooner or later to be the basis of a separate profession. Society has now become so flexible that the great need of the present day is for men who can influence others. The rise of the brokers is an example of this; but there is a demand for influence in political as well as in financial matters, and we can begin to discern already a class of men who are coming forward to supply this want; for example, the lobbyist and the local boss.

It is not yet clear what the ultimate form of the great profession which is to practise political influence will be. It is still in its infancy, and there is a feeling that it ought to be practised gratuitously,—an idea which shows a lamentable ignorance of business principles. A more rational opinion is, however, beginning to prevail. Massachusetts has already given to the lobby a legal status, while the work of the boss is generally recognized as a regular occupation. The sale, indeed, of official power for cash is not yet considered respectable; but the propriety of using office to benefit one's party or one's friends, or to reward supporters who have worked or employed their influence to help the election, seems to be generally admitted. The traffic in official influence is still, for the most part, in the stage of barter, which is an earlier and more primitive form of sale. But the sale for

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money develops from barter just as certainly and naturally as the frog does from the tadpole.

When the development of influence as a marketable commodity has become complete it will produce profound changes in our political life. To some extent, indeed, it will destroy democracy itself, for it will put all political power into the hands of money. Yet the theory I have propounded is evidently correct, for if not it would be impossible to account for the popular apathy about corruption in public life, and this theory can alone explain the fact that so little indignation is aroused by the abuse of official power and by the violation of the most sacred of all trusts.

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL.

A TAX ON TALES.

THANKS to International Copyright, much has been said about the duties of government towards authorship. It is now strongly felt that the reciprocal debt of authors to the State, and its vital part, the treasury, should be paid. "Protect the product of the brain," cry all the friends of letters. "By all means," is the response; "but," in the words of Pooh Bah, "*for a consideration.*"

Every civilized state recognizes the propriety of taxing whiskey and tobacco. Our day is bringing forth abundantly another product closely akin in its nature to these luxuries or necessities. Like them it is a product which may have a good or an evil effect upon consumers, and public policy demands its control by the State. Like them it promises large rewards to its producers, and generally enriches them in pleasure and pride if not in purse. Its production is growing at such a pace that no man can view it with unconcern. This product is the Short Story.

Its manufacture is limited apparently by no trammels of age, place, or previous condition of aptitude for writing. All persons, young and old, who can spell words of one syllable, and some who cannot, believe they can write stories. An enumeration of the tens of thousands in the land who at least once have tried their hand at it, is omitted from the census. Even more astonishing figures are lost in the passing over of those who are wont to say: "If I only had time I should write down that story of mine and send it to a magazine." Pitiful in comparison would be the numbers of the modest who suspect that their work might not succeed.

No figures, however, are necessary to prove the extent and vigor of this new growth. Two minutes at a railway news-stand are enough to convince the most skeptical. Every imaginable form of story, in periodical garb the most various, is represented. That the production of the short story has a positive economic standing is thus shown, for the supply is clearly ready to meet the demand. Is it not then a product to be counted among taxable commodities, and is not an overstrained treasury to benefit from the condition which confronts us? The question deserves the attention of tariff reformers who would sweep away at one stroke a bountiful source of revenue.

Let them, therefore, consider, first, how easily the tax could be imposed. The illicit and underhand production of tales is extremely slight. Nearly every one who writes a story talks about it. His neighbors know what he is doing, and, especially in small communities, the postmaster is in a position to do the government's work of collection, on either the first or the second passage of the manuscript through the mail. Writers of the more

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secretive sort—the guinea-hens of literature, who make a mystery of their nest and eggs—could no more evade our present revenue officials than moonshiners or Havana smugglers. The obstacles to the effective imposition of the tax are hardly worth considering.

In determining the rates of taxation there might be difficulties, but they are far from insuperable. Practical legislators would ask at once, Shall the tax be specific or *ad valorem*, and, if *ad valorem*, who shall fix the value, the author or an official? The author would be torn by a desire on the one hand to estimate his work at the high value it assumes in his own eyes, and on the other by the motives of economy bidding him reduce the tax to a minimum. Recourse might reasonably be had to the agencies that have grown up with the growth of the product. The so-called Literary Bureaus, already established for the sale of manuscripts, publish a schedule of commissions which supplies a fair basis for the taxes the authors have already manifested their willingness to pay. Here is a specimen of one of these actual statements:

"For reading any manuscript containing not more than 2,000 words, and giving a list of the periodicals to which it is best suited, 50 cents; if the manuscript contains more than 2,000 words, 25 cents additional for each additional thousand words or fraction thereof will be charged."

Building upon this material basis the scale might well be graded according to the nature of the stories. For example, a dialect tale of the first class, practically unreadable by nine men out of ten, ought to be worth more than a story in plain English, and should be taxed accordingly. A study in morbid psychology should yield more to the national treasury than a simple, old-fashioned love story. A line also might well be drawn between work of the realistic and the idealistic schools.

The producers themselves, if properly approached, might throw some light on the problem of valuations. Surely the assessors might expect some useful suggestions from such a business-like contributor to the magazines as the person who has been using letter-paper with the professional heading: "Religious and Secular Song-Writing. Orders Promptly Filled."

These are matters of minor detail, with which Congress is competent to deal. At the risk of appearing presumptuous, a leading clause for the bill which shall make taxation upon tales a fact may, by way of suggestion, be given:

"On and after July 1, 1893, each and every short story written within the boundaries and jurisdiction of the United States shall be subject to an internal revenue tax; said tax to be collected by the postmasters or revenue officials of each congressional district as the Board of Commissioners of Fiction—established as herein elsewhere provided for—shall determine; the rates of said tax to fall between 10 and 25 cents per 1,000 words, the maximum rate being applicable to the most difficult dialect, the minimum to compositions by persons under sixteen years of age."

It is confidently believed that these provisions would be for the public good. By their means government could impose a salutary check upon the production of inferior fiction, protect the people from the effects of over-indulgence, and reap a rich harvest from a flourishing, growing industry.

On broad economic grounds the scheme is upheld by the famous dictum of Adam Smith: "Every tax ought to be levied at the time, or in the manner, in which it is most likely to be convenient for the contributor to pay it." This statement convinces one of the great economist's foreknowledge of our day. That very word *contributor* is prophetic of the magazine age. In the fresh flush of authorship the writer hands the proper official the small sum to be

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recorded against his name as a Producer of Short Stories. When is it more likely to be convenient—nay, a pleasure—for him to pay his tax?

The constitutionality of the tax is beyond question. Tobacco and whis key establish ample precedent. Indeed, so much is to be said in favor of this new form of revenue and so little against it, that the plan is earnestly commended to the consideration of Congress early in its next session.

M. A. DE WOLFE HOWE, JR.

BISMARCK AND THE EMPEROR.

PREFACING any judgment that may be suggested under the heading of this article by the statement that no one at so great a distance, and not immediately connected with the Court at Berlin, can know the facts of the case, it is nevertheless possible and interesting to consider from past observed facts what bearing the action of Prince Bismarck, in or out of the Reichstag in its coming session, may have on German politics in the next year. The situation is a most singular one. An aged Prime Minister, meriting all the glory his country can give him, is in opposition not to the government, but to his Emperor—possibly with right on his side. While the Emperor, who has his own life to lead and his own views to stand by, has perhaps as much right on his side. The Minister is too powerful to be allowed to speak his mind freely, and too great to be forcibly silenced.

It may not be amiss to review briefly the events that have led up to the present peculiar situation. On the last day of December, 1888, Prince Bismarck, then Chancellor of the German Empire, Foreign Minister, and President of the Prussian Ministry, received a letter from Emperor William II. The young monarch, deploring the death of his father and grandfather, congratulated himself on still having by him the Iron Prince. "From the bottom of his heart" he desired the Chancellor's health and happiness, and he "prayed Heaven that he might long be permitted to work with him for the welfare and greatness of the Fatherland."

Through the year 1889 it became evident that the Chancellor and the Emperor had a difficult task before them. Both were strong-willed, the Emperor quite as strong-willed as the Chancellor. One was seventy years of age, full of experience and with nearly half a century of history behind him, which he had practically made; the other was scarcely thirty and with nothing behind him to show what qualities he had. One had the experience and ability to form policies of government and the other had the authority to enforce them. Two such men could not work together, if they believed in opposite policies.

As the year passed the Emperor showed his determination to take active part in the conduct of affairs. He dealt directly with Socialistic questions, showed a desire to examine into the Labor troubles, and favored a policy otherwise at variance with that of his Chancellor. Furthermore, he disapproved of Bismarck's persecution of Dr. Geffcken, and strongly objected when he heard of the Chancellor's plan to win over the Ultramontanes with the restoration of the Duke of Cumberland and the Guelph Fund. Similar incidents, that came to light from time to time during the year, showed a determination on the part of the Emperor to treat his Chancellor more as the president of his Council of Ministers than as a Prime Minister. He even issued orders and received reports directly to and from ministers in charge of the different departments, without consulting his Chancellor; all of which in Bismarck's opinion should have passed through his hands

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first. Such methods were, tantamount to saying that a Prime Minister was unnecessary, and thereupon, on the 18th of March, 1890, Bismarck resigned his three offices, and retired to Friedrichsrühe, his country seat.

That the resignation was not distasteful to his master is evident from his acceptance of it within two days; and, thus, fifteen months from the date at which the Emperor's letter of congratulation was dispatched to Bismarck, the latter's resignation was accepted, even courted.

A field-marshalship was offered to the Prince, which he accepted, and a continuance of the emoluments of his offices, and the title of Duke of Lauenburg, both of which he refused. In the same month, March, 1890, the Emperor, at a banquet of the Provincial Diet of Brandenburg, said that any one who would help him in his work he would welcome heartily, but any one who opposed him he would *zerschmettern*, which might be vulgarly but literally translated, "smash to pieces." and the inference was clear.

After Bismarck's retiremeut to Friedrichsrühe certain journals took up his cause, the *Hamburger Nachrichten* and the *Münchene Allgemeine Zeitung*. Though these journals were generally accepted as Bismarck's organs, it is only certain that occasional articles have been printed directly at his request. These papers disapproved of the new government's policy towards Russia, of the increased friendliness towards England, and of the concessions made to her in Africa. Meantime the Emperor referred to these attacks in his speeches and threatened the source from which they came, if they were continued. Bismarck on his side must have been notified by the Court at Berlin that his attacks did not please the high authority there, for he threw out inferences that he was not to be bridled simply because he was out of power. He said, for example, to a deputation of Berliners, who came to him at Friedrichsrühe on the 22d of June, 1890, that he felt like a man who had left the stage and gone into the pit: but that, nevertheless, a pit ticket entitled him to the privilege of applauding or hissing as he desired, so long as he did not whistle shrilly. He said that he was out of office, but could not be deprived of his intellect, and would not submit to dictation.

Matters grew worse as time went on, and in the winter of 1890 the Emperor seemed to go out of his way to show his disfavor of the ex-Chancellor. Moltke was showered with honors at the latter's expense, and the play of "Der Neue Herr" offered another opportunity for the Emperor to show his displeasure. Herr Wildenbruch wrote the play wherein the Great Elector, of historic memory, is represented as discharging his sometime valuable minister who had turned against him. When the play was set on the stage, William II. made corrections in it and attended performances night after night—all of which could have reference only to the incident at hand.

Bismarck's reputed interviews became more caustic and unguarded, and in one of them he called the Emperor "*Der Junge Mann*." This created considerable commotion among the journals, and the retired Chancellor probably received another intimation from the Court that he had committed an error. But it is a difficult matter to terrorize one who never knew what it is to feel fear.

In April, 1891, Bismarck was persuaded to run as a candidate of the National-Liberal party for the Reichstag from the constituency of Geestemünde. He failed to secure a majority on the first ballot, but on the second he received 10,500 votes to 5,500 for his opponent. He did not enter the Reichstag last year, on the ground that his health would not admit of it, but he said that he should do so in the coming session.

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Finally, notice appeared in the journals that the marriage of Count Herbert Bismarck in Vienna, in June, would be attended by the ex-Chancellor. Before the bridal party started official notice had been sent to the German Ambassador at Vienna not to attend the wedding or take official cognizance of the presence of Bismarck in the city. A similar request as to Bismarck was also sent to the Austrian Court.

In June the party started from Friedrichsrühe, and all along the route the journey resembled the voyage of a conqueror. It was an unmistakable sign of the preference—at least of a portion of the German nation—for the fallen Chancellor over the Emperor. Stations were crowded with deputations, speeches were made, and Bismarck replied. At Vienna the Russian Ambassador was the only diplomat of high standing present at the wedding. Immediately afterwards, before leaving the city, the Prince had an interview with the editor of a Liberal journal, in which he said that while Chancellor he had kept the personal friendship of the Czar; that the Czar had told him that he trusted him implicitly, and Bismarck had replied that he was certain to remain minister for life; that with the "new era," however, begun at his retirement, the friendly relations with Russia had become strained. And he gave out a hint that Germany's position in regard to Russia was greatly weakened by the appointment of Caprivi. These utterances were followed on the last of July by a patriotic speech at Kissingen from Bismarck to the South Germans. These again created unlimited comment.

The government has at last seen the wisdom of remaining quiet, but how long this silence will be maintained cannot be told. Caprivi up to the present has only answered the Vienna interview by publishing the note sent to the powers in May, 1890, notifying them that Bismarck's utterances did not represent the sentiments of the Foreign Office.

The situation stands, therefore, in some such position as this, and the Reichstag opens at the end of October: Will Bismarck enter the German parliament and lead the opposition? The situation is further complicated, because on the appointment of Caprivi it became patent to the world that he was only a figure-head, and that the Emperor was his own Prime Minister. If a minister commits an error he can retire, and one of the opposition takes his place. But an Emperor, when he makes a mistake, cannot retire, but stands for the rest of his life accused. And for the Emperor William to become his own minister is of itself a great risk. The young ruler has a hundred times stated his beliefs with a courage that every one must admire, and the bare fact that he cannot change them makes his position a doubly difficult one, when it is added to the opposition of the greatest statesman in Europe, so strong even in retirement. The Imperial throne has been in existence too short a time to bear up under too much opposition.

On the other hand, to bring such a magnificent man as Bismarck into the courts of the country he has himself created would be a difficult thing for even an Emperor to do.

It is probable that Bismarck will not enter the Reichstag, because he has so often disregarded its rules that it might entangle him in its meshes out of revenge; but if he does, and if he succeeds in putting the Emperor's policy in a minority, there is sure to be a deadlock. The Emperor has shown himself not the one to yield. And yet, in the event suggested, the country would stand against him.

JOSEPH HAMBLEN SEARS.

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